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ART. I.—*Del' arte di vedere nelle belle arte del desegno, secondo i principii di Sulzer e di Mengs.* Venezia, 1798. 12mo.

This little work is frequently put into the hands of travellers at Rome, as a good guide, in the survey of the productions of the ancient and modern arts. It is anonymous, but we believe it is the composition of Milizia, a highly approved modern writer on architecture. It inculcates the doctrines of the modern German school in matters of taste, as may be inferred from the title; and its chief fault perhaps is an affectation of originality, and misplaced emphasis of expression. The following passage will be sufficient to indicate the principles, which are inculcated in the work, and will serve, at the same time, as a suitable introduction to the remarks, which we propose to submit to the indulgence of our readers.

'The artist, who should imitate nature, such as she is, would entirely fail of his object. It is not worth so much trouble, to imitate that, which we have constantly under our eyes. The true worth of art is, to develope that, which in nature is never found united in one object. For this reason, those, who confine themselves merely to copying nature, are called *naturalists*, and whatever amount of labor they may put into their copies, they can deserve no great applause. There are occasions, when such imitation would be censurable, and the more so, the more faithful it is. Who could endure the sight of torments and monsters, if so faithfully represented as to seem real? If the Laocoon terrified us, it would cease to be a wonder

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of the Fine Arts, whose object is to please, whatever be the subject, whether joyful or sad, majestic or light, tender or scornful. Terror is not delight. Accordingly eyes painted to represent nature, or of enamel or silver, as they sometimes were in ancient statues, are of ill effect; and still worse, coloring the entire statue. A fine engraving would be better than a colored statue.

'It would appear from these principles that portraits and busts are not the legitimate object of the sculptor. If it is merely a likeness, then the merit is not great. It is a fault, if the simplicity of nature is abandoned. To have value as a work of art, it must partake of the *beau ideal;* and this may be best effected by preserving a resemblance in the countenance, making as it were the eulogy of it, and idealizing all the rest.'

We have been particularly led to the consideration of the subject of Statuary by the circumstance that within two or three years a statue of our beloved Washington, from the chisel of the most renowned living artist, has been erected in Boston. The expense of this beautiful work of art has been defrayed from contributions, collected more than twenty years since, in Massachusetts; which from the length of time necessary to the completion of such a statue, and the excellent care taken of the fund, have accumulated to a sum sufficient to defray the entire expenses of its erection. It is therefore a tribute of veneration from the individuals united in it, to the memory of the Father of his country.

This is the second work of the class, with which our country is now enriched. The legislature of North Carolina, several years ago, procured a statue of Washington from the chisel of Canova. The possession of these two works, from the two first artists of the age, is of great importance to the study and practice of sculpture in America; and, considering the great demand on the time of the surviving as of the deceased Master, it is a piece of good fortune to the country, which the lovers of art cannot too highly appreciate.

We do not propose, at this time, to enter into a comparison of the two works; nor into a detailed consideration of that most recently exhibited to the public admiration, the statue of Washington by Chantrey. Most of the judgments formed, at the present day, of either, will be likely to proceed upon the ground of likeness to the original; a ground of minor importance, and of uncertain opinion. It is only when the generation

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of those who recollect the original shall have entirely passed off; and the multiplicity of different portraits shall have produced indistinctness in the prevailing conceptions of the countenance of the illustrious original, that the merits of these works can be discussed purely on principles of taste.

The occasion has, however, seemed to us a favorable one, for some general consideration of this department of fine art, as it existed in its greatest perfection, among the ancient Greeks. If we can ascertain the causes of that perfection, we can inquire with greater safety, into the probability of its revival in modern times, and what is of chief importance to us, in our own country. It is an art certainly deserving the studious attention of the man of taste, as in the highest degree beautiful and attractive in itself,—singular in its history, and in some respects endued with advantages, over every other effort of human genius to express and immortalize itself. Books are written in languages, which become obsolete, or (to use the more expressive popular phrase) *dead*. Eloquence and poetry lose a part of their raciness, by filtration through the dictionary and grammar. Magnificent edifices have scarce ever been preserved for many ages, in their original state. Those which, like the pyramids, are built for permanence, are rarely beautiful. But the creations of statuary, from the nature of this art, are susceptible of almost perfect preservation; and in some few instances have been preserved nearly uninjured, presenting to our eyes almost the same spectacle, which they did to the eyes of those, for whom they were originally produced, two thousand years ago. The productions of this art, more exclusively than those of architecture, belong purely to taste. Architecture is by necessity, to a certain degree, a useful art, and in a climate like ours, not a little of the beauty of almost any building, must be sacrificed to its purposes of utility. A Grecian temple, for instance, without any entrance for light or air, except at the door, would poorly serve the purposes either of church or bank. But Statuary, in its highest application, is addressed purely to the taste, and like poetry, though capable of being made useful, aims in itself at another object, the refined pleasure produced by the survey of a beautiful work of art.

Many of the metaphysical writers on the subject, therefore, particularly among the Germans, are apt to interweave in their essays on subjects of art, attempts to define beauty and settle

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some ultimate principles of taste. Not many have the courage to imitate Winckelmann, and admit, at the outset, that beauty cannot be defined, nor the principles of taste reduced to any ulterior foundation. It is somewhat singular, that, as men have been obliged to borrow from their corporeal senses the word, by which they designate the intellectual power, and have called the faculty, whereby we take cognizance of beauty, *taste*, they have not been more willing to allow, that the intellectual, like the bodily taste, is a final principle, and that beauty is no more susceptible of analysis than *sweet*, or *bitter*.

It is granting much to admit, that it is even as susceptible of analysis, as what are called the sensible properties of things. Though it is doubtful whether any two persons mean *precisely* the same thing, by sweet and bitter; yet there is as little doubt, that they mean nearly the same thing. Whereas that beauty is naturally the same or nearly the same to any two individuals is much more questionable. To all useful purposes, the search for its ulterior principle may be abandoned, and taste may be considered as a faculty to be formed, cultivated, improved, and perverted, and beauty as a thing to be ascertained by induction, comparison, and experience.

The art of Statuary, taking it in the elevated sense we have already indicated, may be considered a lost art in the world. We say not this, from bigotry toward the ancients; for the decline of the art may be traced in part to causes, intimately connected with the best features of modern society. But a single country only, at the present day, and we might say a single city,—Rome,—exhibits any thing like a school of Statuary, and that is avowedly founded on the study of the antique. Thither a few gifted geniuses repair to imbibe that traditionary instruction, and to behold those ancient models, which are almost exclusively confined to that spot. From the skill, which they acquire in Italy, and from the study of ancient remains, in other parts of the world, a few artists of renown have formed themselves out of Italy. Among these, the most eminent living, is Chantrey in England, who even during the life-time of Canova, was thought by many good judges of the art in England, to equal, if not to surpass, that celebrated sculptor. But Chantrey, like Canova, Thorwaldsen, and the other best artists of the day, can scarce lay claim to the character of inventive excellence, as being in their relation to the ancient sculptors, what Chatham and Burke are to the ancient orators.

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The ancient sculptors, as we shall presently state more in detail, enjoyed the honorable prerogative of exhibiting in ivory and gold, in marble and in brass, the national divinities, the deified heroes, and great men, whose genius and exploits seemed to have something in them of divine. The 'human face divine' is almost the only divine thing, which modern sculptors are called to execute; and that not as rendered truly divine by the chisel of the creative artist, but faithfully copied, with all the blemishes of humanity. Nine tenths of the commissions given to the greatest sculptors of the day, are the portraits of 'prosperous gentlemen' and ladies, curious to have their likeness, as it is called, in marble. It is plain, that a demand for such works can do little to form the powers of the artist, for great efforts of invention, or to create a school of art. A Poet, who spent the greater part of his life in composing obituary verses for a fee, would stand in somewhat the same relation to the art of poetry, that the sculptor does to the art of Statuary, whose chisel can be always commanded for a bust. In some form or other, portrait-making has taken precedence of every other kind of sculpture in modern times. The popular principles of judging, applied to any work in marble, will consequently be found to refer to a greater or less degree of historical truth and natural resemblance. Now though a fine likeness in marble of a friend or a public benefactor is a very desirable thing, which no man of sense undervalues, yet it cannot in itself be regarded, as a great effort of genius. It is evidently a mechanical affair, giving less scope to the imagination of the artist, than the planning and erection of a fine edifice. That we possess the former can hardly be considered as interfering with the doctrine, that we have lost that sublimer art, of the same name, which produced the Jupiter Olympius.

There is indeed one species of modern sculpture, which admits a pretty free exercise of inventive genius, and which has perhaps had a principal agency in preserving the art in so high a degree of excellence as it still exhibits; and this is the monuments of great men. The characters of great public benefactors, illustrious commanders, sublime geniuses, and devoted patriots are precious in the memory of men; and in the grateful task of immortalizing them, some of the most valuable productions of modern sculpture have had their origin. The monument of the princess of Saxe-Teschen at Vienna, (if not a little too theatrical for marble) representing a funeral proces-

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sion, in which an aged pensioner, and orphan children are represented as following their benefactress to the tomb, is one of the most pleasing works of Canova. Two little infants, in one of the English cathedrals, by Chantrey, represented on their tomb, as fallen gently asleep, clasped in each others' white arms, are also of great sweetness and beauty. The two heroic statues of Washington, by the rival artists of the day, may be regarded as monuments of an elevated order. Works of this class possess a dignity, a character, and a charm as far removed from that of likeness, and the perception of resemblance, as the heart is from the senses.

We do not propose, at the present time, to pursue this topic, nor inquire how far, in a class of works of this general description, historical truth is to be studied in detail. A controversy exists on this head, but as often happens, the difference is more in the theory, than in practice. Mr. Chantrey professes to be a resolute champion of historical truth; that is to say, of the modern costume, in the statues of distinguished characters of modern times. Canova, on the other hand, pleaded for the imitation only of those parts of nature, which are pleasing, and as such contributed to the final object of the art. In the result, it will perhaps be found, that each of these masters has endeavored to avoid the literal fulfilment of his own canons of taste. The mantle of Canova's Washington and the position in the chair, particularly the latter, are strongly in modern taste; and the cloak, in which Chantrey has enveloped the hero has an exceedingly Roman *sinus*. We should, at any rate, like to see the man, who would venture into the streets, with such a 'modern costume.' Nor is this the only instance, where Mr. Chantrey has shewn, that, in defending modern costume he means a kind of sculptor's costume, devised to conceal nearly all the peculiarities of the real modern dress; which we believe, whenever it is faithfully imitated, to be, as far as it goes, fatal to the effect of the art. On the other hand, in leaving any part of General Washington's person naked, especially while he is employed in writing his valedictory address, seated in a superb chair of state, we must own, we think Canova has carried the antique to a point beyond the reach of our notions of congruity. It is not because we know General Washington did not dress so, but because such an exhibition is out of taste, and not pleasing.

No art is more eminently Grecian, than that of noble sculp-

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ture. Some of the great nations, who preceded the Greeks, lavished on the arts all the resources of powerful monarchies; but from causes partly physical and partly political, brought that of sculpture to no great excellence. The Babylonians erected their stupendous temple; an artificial mountain of bricks; but we have no accounts of any school of sculpture among them. On the ruins of Persepolis, are still to be seen no inconsiderable remains of a grave and solemn style of sculpture, quite equal to the earlier Grecian manner. In fact the old Persian Mardichora, as Heeren defines the monster on these ruins, bears a very tolerable comparison with the lions of the gateway of Mycenæ. The Egyptians, in the magnitude and solidity of their edifices, surpassed every thing which the Greeks attempted; but their representations of the human form never lost the stiffness of the first essays; the arms remained attached to the sides of the body, and the limbs stiff and inflexible. As the Greeks derived the rudiments of all their arts from the Egyptians or Phenicians, there is no difficulty in admitting, that from them also, they took their first lessons in Statuary. In fact, in adopting the national divinities of Egypt, it was scarcely possible, that the Greeks should not adopt the traditional mode of representing them. Accordingly, on the oldest Grecian coins, the figures betray an Egyptian stiffness; and though there are no statues in existence from the age of the earliest coins, yet the older the statues are, the more they exhibit of this *immobility*.

The rudiments of Statuary in Greece have been the subject of considerable controversy, as we had occasion to state more particularly in this journal some time ago. It is a controversy, however, interesting only to the critic and the antiquary, into which we have no temptation now to enter. It respects that early period in Greece, before her civilization was mature; when the art was little else than the imitation of Egyptian models; and before it had begun to feel the operation of those causes, which led to its subsequent perfection. As Greece did in the art of sculpture eventually attain a perfection, in which as she had no predecessor she may be allowed to be self-taught, and in which she has been the instructress of all nations, which have succeeded her in ancient or modern times, we shall endeavor in the remainder of this article, to indicate what may be supposed to be the chief causes, contributing to the attainment of this perfection.

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1. The first unquestionably is the climate of the country; holding a middle place between the cold and unfriendly regions of the north, and the oppressive temperature of the tropics. No perfection, we believe, in any noble arts, has, in any age of the world, been attained in climates so hot, as to destroy the European complexion; and it is perhaps equally without example, that this perfection can be reached in any very high latitude. As all the experience of the world then points to the temperate zone, as the region of high improvement in the arts of civilization, so certainly there is no country, which so truly as Greece, may be regarded as presenting the happiest mean in this temperature. With respect to the art of sculpture, the favorable influence of a genial climate is perhaps more immediate, than in the case of any of the other arts. Statues exposed to the air, in a mild climate, do not suffer; they are neither weather-beaten by tempests, nor disjointed by frost, nor spotted with smoke. The Caryatides, which, till the recent bombardments, supported the portico of the temple of Erectheus, in the Athenian Acropolis, were, with the exception of what has been done by violent and barbarous hands, as fresh and beautiful as when first erected. The joints between the tambours, in the columns of the Parthenon, remain, for aught the weather has done, as close and almost imperceptible as ever.

But the immediate effect on the preservation of works of art is but the first of the modes, in which a genial climate promotes its progress. The same quality of climate leads to an out-doors' existence, not less propitious to the advancement of Statuary. In climates exposed to great vicissitudes, to violent heats and excessive colds, man is driven from the open face of day, to take refuge beneath roofs, and within the enclosure of walls. It is true, he can carry the works of art with him to these retreats, and in the progress of luxury, if not of refinement, this is done. The most beautiful productions of the genius and taste of the sculptor are then secluded within the recesses of palaces, and concealed in halls and galleries, which none but a favored few can approach. The Laocoon group was actually found at Rome, in an interior apartment of one of the imperial palaces, in a room without a window or a skylight, and where it was only visible by torches to courtiers. But it needs not be said, that these are not the circumstances most favorable to the

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growth of the art. It is not thus, that it can first operate on the public feeling, and then by a strong reaction advance itself, under the *stimulus* of a diffusive popular taste. Nor were the brilliant works of the best age of Greece thus secluded from the public gaze. They were set up on lofty pedestals, in the market-place, the home of the news-loving Greek. The images of the heroes, to whom the ardent imaginations of their countrymen assigned the honors of an apotheosis, stood, as it were, lifted on rich columns of porphyry and marble, toward the heavens they had gone to inhabit. Rows of statesmen, orators, and generals surrounded the public squares and the forum; a memento to the busy throng beneath of the character of their fathers. The friezes of the peripteral temples exhibited pompous sculptured trains of the men and the exploits, which history or tradition had commemorated. The pediments of the public buildings were filled up with imposing groups; marble statues stood aloft on the corners of the roofs, —on the very pinnacle. Pausanias assures us, that in sailing from Cape Sunium toward the Piræus, a distance of near forty miles, the mariner took for his land-mark the golden point of the spear and the glittering shield of that statue of Minerva of ivory and gold, a dazzling Colossus of thirty-nine feet in height, which Phidias had placed on the very summit of the Parthenon. If the opinion of the most learned writer on the temple of Jupiter Olympius, (Quatremère de Quincy) can be trusted, that noble temple was of the hypæthral construction; the court in which the god sat upon his gorgeous throne, was open at the top; and nothing but his own heavens was permitted to cover the head of the father of men and gods. Such, beneath a mild, transparent, exhilarating sky, were the museums and galleries of Greece. The citadel of Athens was the exhibition-room of Phidias. The clear, elastic air and bright sun did for his statues, in the broad face of day, what must be effected in our climates, in closed halls, by blinds, shutters, ground-glass, baise doors, linen curtains, and every bulwark we can command against frosts, mildews, and east winds. This unrestrained exposure, open inspection, and daily intimacy, if we may so express it, with the most admirable works of art, must have produced and nourished a sort of indigenous taste among the Greeks, which becomes a rare accomplishment in colder climates, acquired under circumstances, in which a small part only of the community is placed.

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Then we must consider the general effect on man,—senses and mind,—of a genial climate. This is a subject, on which the plainest truth will seem like extravagant romance to those, who have not, in their own experience, compared a northern and a Neapolitan winter. Whoever has compared them, and felt the excitement of the 'common sun, the air, the skies,' in one of the favored regions of the Levant, will agree with us, that no other *stimulus*, no cordial draught, no strain of music, no cheerful conversation approaches in its effect, to the animation imparted to the frame and the feelings, by the simple agency of a fair, clear day, a soft, elastic air, and a bright sun traversing the cloudless heavens, and kindling every thing into life and joy. It is not too much to admit, that such influences must produce a somewhat different race of beings from those, who live in regions, where it is as much as skill and money can effect to keep warm in winter, and cool in summer; where, for six months of the year, hands, limbs, and muscles are rendered comparatively useless, by the quantity of flannel, fur, cloth, and leather, that must be put about them. The organization of man is not so much less exquisite, than that of a grape-vine, as that, while the quality of the wine depends not merely on the country or province, but on the very acre of ground, on which it grew, the human organization should be indifferent to climate and region. On the contrary, we believe, that the diminutive and torpid Laplander, the thick-lipped, low-browed, woolly-headed African, and the blooming child of the Caucasian race, are all 'of one blood,' and that subsequently operating circumstances, (and particularly climate,) acting through a long succession of ages, have produced the difference, which we now witness in appearance, character, and capacity. Now the Greeks enjoyed precisely that climate, which seems most favorable to the production of those effects, whose magnitude in a lapse of ages is so astonishing. We will not further press the consideration, how auspicious it must be to the progress of the Fine Arts. If not yet convinced, we must be, by dwelling on the opposite effects of an unfriendly climate. Does any one think it strange, that the Greenlander or the Esquimaux,—toiling in the summer for his scanty supply of rank and odious sustenance, and laying up his oil and blubber and drift wood for a dreary polar winter, which is to be almost literally slept away, without any light but that of his lamp, in a cavern covered with ice, that never melts,—has never produced a work of fine art?

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Does any one think it necessary to go beyond the climate to account for his not doing it?

It is true that, in modern times, for a reason we will state, this circumstance is less decisively operative than it was in antiquity. It is, in some degree, counteracted by the highly perfected state of international communication, mentally by means of the press, and physically, by the improved state of commerce. The extraordinary facilities of communication that now exist, have done much to make the distinction of climates in modern times less important than it was formerly. Of old, refinement was local; books scarce and dear; foreign languages little known; and the human mind in one place isolated from the human mind in almost every other. Arts were invented, and after a limited prevalence, were lost; discoveries and inventions in one region required to be discovered again, and re-invented in another. While the Chaldæans and Egyptians, from their lofty towers, were observing the heavens and calculating eclipses, the Greeks and Romans gazed on them, as a disorder in the sky, and searched the entrails of bullocks, to learn what they portended. The coast of Greece, on a fair day, is in sight of that of Italy; and yet, if tradition say true, the Romans were obliged to send ten ambassadors to Athens, to learn their laws. Such was the state of mental intercourse. And as to physical communication, it is sufficient to say, that the navigation of the high seas was wholly unknown. In this state of things, all the natural differences of character between nations, were much more strongly marked, and permanent. With our art of printing, and our mariner's compass, these differences are not a little softened away. Knowledge and art, discoveries and refinements, like staple products and fruits, are transported from clime to clime, with astonishing rapidity. Causes of improvement may be local, but their operation is diffusive. As in our high latitudes, we can furnish our tables with the pine-apples, the oranges, and the grapes of warmer climates, so the most unpropitious region may enjoy a considerable participation in the benefit of the mental energy, developed in the most favored spot. Within reasonable limits, differences of climate and geographical position, which were anciently of moment, have become comparatively inoperative. The press has carried refinement into the depths of the Hercynian forest. The banks of the Elbe boast their galleries and museums, second only to those on the banks of the Tiber; and in the

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dreariest corner of California the solitary Franciscan monk collects about him, in his cell, all the stores of European learning. But with all the powerful influence of the press, in breaking down some of the old partition walls of nations, it is plain that there is a certain portion of the immediate operation of a genial climate, on the Fine Arts, the want of which the press can do nothing to supply.

2°. Connected no doubt to a certain extent, in their origin, with the mild climate of the country, were certain institutions and traits of manners, the operation of which was highly favorable on several of the Fine Arts, and among others that of sculpture. We refer here to the national games and the character of the gymnastic exercises of the Greeks. The assembly at the games, from every part of Greece, stood in stead of almost every other kind of communication and intercourse. In consequence of their organization and popularity, every thing was calculated for the hearing of the ear, and the seeing of the eye. This of course,—to use a modern phraseology,—operated as a bounty on all the arts, that are connected with ocular inspection. With respect to sculpture, the fashion of the age and country associated it in the most important manner with these Panhellenian festivals. The favorite reward of the victor was the privilege of setting up his statue in the Olympian Altis.

When a great deed has been achieved in modern times, a gold medal is bestowed in a morocco case; the freedom of the city is given in a snuff box; or a vote of thanks is passed by Congress. In Greece, when a victor at the Olympic games came home to his own town, the city gates were not thought worthy to let him in; a breach in the walls was made to admit him; pompous sacrifices and games followed; and his statues adorned the market-place. Children were not left to spell out the history of their country or the exploits of their fathers, in compends and abridgments; but wherever they turned their eyes, in the hall at home, in the streets and squares abroad, it spoke to their senses; and awed and delighted them in brass and marble, twice the source of undying fame, once to the men, whose memory was thus preserved; and again to the artist, by whose genius this was effected. It is obvious, that the art, which was thus resorted to, as the last guerdon of merit, the crowning honor of genius, courage, eloquence, and success, could not but be brought to a prompt perfection.

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There is another respect, in which the peculiar manners and institutions of the Greeks exercised a propitious influence on the progress of sculpture; it was through the agency of the gymnastic exercises. These exercises were in the highest repute; and were universally and enthusiastically cultivated. The body was regarded, not as the slave, but as the partner of the mind. It is particularly recorded of Pythagoras, (as it is even of Plato, who lived in the most fastidious age of Greece,) that he contended for the prize in wrestling. These exercises were, of course, productive of strength, health, and by necessary consequence, of beauty; to which the Greeks paid the tribute of an admiration almost superstitious, maintaining that beauty was perfection, and in the highest sense using but one word for the fair and the good. Deeming that nature would not have exerted such wondrous skill in our organization, were it unworthy of being kept in its originally healthy and pleasing state, this ancient people gave as much attention, and pains, and time, to the exercises of the body, as to the culture of the mind. Hence, in promoting health, they promoted comeliness of form and feature. That they attained both objects, health as well as beauty, may be partly inferred from the fact, that several of the most afflictive modern diseases were unknown to the Greeks and Romans, (a circumstance considered important by Winckelmann among those, which favored the progress of the arts of design;) while, after all allowance to be made for the flatteries of art, it is impossible to doubt, that the Grecian proportions and features were more perfect than those of any modern nation. Here, therefore, the artist was furnished with the most perfect models; and down to the present day, the copies in marble of the young men, who wrestled and threw the discus in the Grecian gymnasium and stadium, two thousand years ago, remain the best models for the sculptor. The youthful artist, who would learn the symmetry of the human form at the present day, can pursue no such study of nature. He procures a plaster cast of an arm or of a head of some Apollo or Hercules, who, after having been buried fifteen centuries, has been dug up, shattered and mutilated, in the ruins of a Roman bath or palace. This he studies, this is his school. Such was the school of Michael Angelo. The single fragment, called the Torso, a shapeless thing, without head, arms, or legs,—nay, which the artist himself is, from certain appearances, supposed

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never to have finished, is itself called the school of Michael Angelo, on account of the study which he bestowed on this one fragment of antiquity. Raphael complains in a letter still extant, that in representing the divine beauties of his Madonnas, he was obliged for want of models in nature, to copy from the ideal image in his own mind; but it is plain to see, what has often been observed, that this ideal image, as afterwards embodied on his canvass, was borrowed from the antique.

As it was the public games, which contributed not a little to the formation of fine models of personal beauty, so the same games gave full opportunity to study these models. Sentiment varies so entirely from period to period, and in different countries at the same time, that after a lapse of ages, it sometimes becomes difficult to believe, that certain peculiarities in manners could ever have existed, which we know historically not only existed, but without any scandal or reproach. Most of the gymnastic exercises were performed with very light clothing, or none at all. The games were, nevertheless, regarded as an inoffensive spectacle;—were performed before whatever was most grave and dignified in Greece;—and St. Paul in his Epistles borrows his imagery and metaphorical expressions more frequently from these games, than from any other source. This then was the school of the artist; and his subjects were not Paris plaster casts of marble images, but the living ingenuous youth of Greece. The modern artist, who would study from a living model, must content himself with such an one, as can be hired for the drawing apartment of the academy. We send out to the Canovas and Chantreys for monumental statues of our venerated hero, and expect of them to represent, in its absolute perfection, the symmetry of the human frame; and yet so inconsistent is public sentiment, that the most effectual, almost the only adequate means of acquiring the skill to do this, is interdicted by the law of decorum; and high-minded and honorable artists are obliged to descend to hired vagabonds, to furnish them with models of the human frame. It is plain that the art must suffer by this state of things, and the artist be degraded and humiliated by the restraints thus imposed upon him, and the progress and cultivation of his art become an ill-adjusted affair, in which an end is demanded, while the most efficient means to effect that end are in discredit.

3°. The progress of sculpture (as also of architecture) was

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favored in Greece by the abundance of fine marbles. It not only appears, that no great national school of sculpture has ever grown up in countries not provided with marble quarries; but the progress of Statuary in Greece seems to have kept pace with the gradually extended use of marble. Wood, the oldest material of statues, and clay are too soft and perishable for an art, which aims at permanence in its very nature. For this reason, in part, among the Babylonians, whose country furnished no quarries of marble, we find no trace of an improved school of Statuary; and if they formed images of wood and clay at a very early period, as they seem to have done, it could not be expected that works of so frail a structure should survive the stupendous piles of the same material, which have for ages been reduced to undistinguishable ruins. The Egyptians had quarries in abundance, but they were chiefly of granite and sandstone, neither of them adapted, in appearance or quality, to the finer uses of Statuary. In Greece there were inexhaustible quarries of marble, particularly the two renowned species, the Parian and the Pentelican. Of these, the marble of the island of Paros was the best, being of a finer grain and softer texture, so that it could be wrought to the most delicate imitation of the hair. The marble of Mount Pentelicus had a coarser grain and was somewhat more brittle. Its vicinity to Athens, however, was a great advantage; and according to Winckelmann, nine tenths of the works of sculpture produced at Athens, were of Pentelican marble. It is a singular circumstance, that, notwithstanding the abundance and beauty of this stone, its use in Greece for the purposes of Statuary, dates from a comparatively late period. No certain trace of it is discovered before the age of Solon; and even down to the time of Phidias, the practice prevailed of making the main portion of a statue of wood, and the head, hands, and feet, of marble. It was not long before a similar mode of executing statues was resorted to, from a different cause. When marble statues began to abound, something more costly and exquisite was made use of for works of the highest character. The statue of Minerva, which Phidias executed for the people of Platæa, on occasion of the victory over Mardonius, was in the elder taste,—wood, with extremities of marble. But the Minerva of the Parthenon, which was proverbial for its beautiful proportions, was of ivory and gold, and so was the Jupiter Olympius. Brass or bronze was likewise used in many works of art, and the skill of cast-

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ing it reached a perfection never since attained. The cow of Myron was of classic renown; it was standing at Athens in the time of Cicero, and is commended by him in one of his orations. In the time of Justinian it was at Rome; but was, probably, cast into armor in the dark ages, to be hacked to pieces in the senseless squabbles of the rival factions. After the art began to wane from the full-orbed perfection of Phidias, we hear scarce any thing of ivory and gold; and marble became almost exclusively the material of works of art, as it is, upon the whole, by far the best adapted for their various purposes.

That this is the case, we may, besides the experience of Greece, appeal to Italy. Next to Greece, Italy is the only country in which Statuary has permanently flourished; and is, we believe, the only country except Greece, which is certainly known to possess quarries of the finest marble. The Italian sculptors of the present day prefer the marble of Carrara to the Grecian, as more easily wrought. Winckelmann assigns the Parian a preference over the marble of Carrara, in two respects, one of which he calls *mildness*, meaning, we suppose, the opposite of brittleness, the capacity of being wrought into the finest details, without springing, (a quality which he denies the Carrara to possess) and the other, the softer color of the Parian, approaching to the whiteness of a fair skin, and not dazzling white, like the Carrara. It was one of Canova's secrets in the art, to bestow upon his statues a soft waxy appearance, much more agreeable to the eye, as well as more favorable to the effect of the statue, than the shining surface of dazzling white, which is commonly seen in recent works in marble.

The quarries of Pentelicus are still of inexhaustible wealth, and are passed by the traveller on the road from Athens to Marathon. The magnificent structures at Athens, for which they furnished the material, and the thousands of statues from the same source, have made but an inconsiderable excavation on the hill side. You enter a spacious cavern, as it seems to be, and can hardly persuade yourself, that the temples of Minerva and Theseus, and the Propylæa were hewn from the spot. The surface of the cavern is coated with a thin green moss, producing a slight exterior discoloration; and a blow from the hammer discloses in every part of it, the dazzling white stone of which the mountain consists. A living spring

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of water flows through the lower part of the quarry; and in some cases, the sides are smoked and blackened with the fires, which the Greek shepherds have kindled within this retreat, when driven by storms from the mountain's side. Were there any facilities in Attica for working the quarry, marble might still be procured to great advantage from Pentelicus, for exportation to any part of the world. There is a regular descent to the sea, both towards Athens on one side, and Marathon on the other; and the blocks might be rolled down hill almost all the way to the Straits of Eubœa, or to the Piræus.

The United States abound in marbles of great beauty; though, we believe, none have yet been discovered in any quantity, which equal the Italian and Grecian marbles. This may possibly, however, be owing to the imperfect search which has yet been made. The geological features of a very considerable district, and the quarries of coarse marble already wrought, leave little doubt, that our country possesses a material adapted to all the purposes of Statuary. For the other purposes to which marble was applied in Greece, we possess in our granite and sienite, a stone, that leaves us nothing to desire, either as regards the more substantial qualities or the external appearance. There is no doubt, that after standing a century in our climate, a granite edifice would appear vastly more beautiful than a similar edifice of marble. As to the coarse calcareous stone, of which St. Peter's and the Coliseum are built, it is not to be compared with our granite, any more than the Portland or Bath free stone in England.

4°. The political constitution of Greece, and the state of liberty in that country, are usually cited as another cause of the perfection to which the arts (and particularly that of Statuary) were brought among them. This element ought not to be omitted in the discussion, though perhaps not of the most determinate operation. The arts were brought to the highest perfection they ever attained in free republican Greece; and they declined after the age of Alexander. But they revived, with a splendor inferior only to that of the classical age, in imperial Rome; and nearly all the beautiful ancient works of Statuary, which have descended to us, are from a period subsequent to Alexander; subsequent to the age of Grecian freedom. The greatest part of what has been done in modern times for the cultivation and improvement of these arts, has been by popes, and sovereign princes, and their nobility.

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For the very perfection of any free and liberal art, there must, it is certain, be much genuine political liberty. The mind will not expand; it will not exert its elastic power; genius will not range heaven and earth, in the glory of its creative might, without liberty. It is not enough, that the artist himself be protected, encouraged, and paid; he must see a prosperous, free and happy people around him, or he cannot give himself up, fearlessly and with full heart, to the inspiration within. But this is the indispensable condition only of the very highest excellence, of that last grace and perfection, which power cannot command, which industry cannot work out, which money cannot buy. All that they can—and it is much,—all that a splendid prince can order to be done and will liberally pay for,—and this is very much,—can be done under a paternal despotism.

The arts, in fact, are expensive. Marble or even granite temples, and colossal statues of marble, ivory, and gold are not to be had for a song; and free countries—rather, free governments,—are commonly poor; free, because they are poor. Even the great works of Athens were paid for, by a process, which would awkwardly find a place among the institutions of a free government, as understood by us. Most of them owed their existence to the tribute, which the Athenians extorted from the islands and cities in their alliance. Nor was the freedom of the Athenians themselves precisely of that quality, which we should think worth having. Was a naval expedition to be fitted out, certain individuals, possessing an estimated amount of property, were ordered each to prepare and equip, at his own expense, an armed ship for the public service, by a certain day, on penalty of outlawry. Were the walls of the city in need of repair, other rich citizens had the honor of building them up, at their own expense. The immortal oration of Demosthenes for the crown, pronounced by a competent judge, (Tully) the most exalted flight of human eloquence, grew out of the designation of Demosthenes to repair the city walls, after the disastrous battle of Cheronæa; which he did chiefly at his own expense, and for which an honorary *crown* was voted him in the theatre, the propriety of which Æschines contested; and hence the name.

In accordance with this view of Grecian liberty, we find that private individuals, generally speaking, were not the patrons of art; but that almost every thing was done in the

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free ages of the republic by the state; and by the princes, after freedom was subverted. In Rome, individuals were munificent patrons of the arts, but there was no freedom in Rome, in the periods in which the arts flourished; and the riches, which enabled the Luculli and the Agrippas to bestow a generous patronage on the arts, were derived from the presents of suppliant kings, the plunder of the allies, and the spoils of the enemy. Even Gallus, Virgil's sentimental friend,

> —— cujus amor tantum mihi crescit in horas
> Quantum vere novo viridis se subjicit alnus,

plundered Egyptian Thebes,—*exhausit civitatem*,—to such a degree, that Augustus had to call him home,—and confiscate his property.

The effect of our own institutions on the expensive arts is a curious and important question. All that entire liberty can do will be done. But private fortunes, in consequence of the law of distributions, which is the corner-stone of the republic, will always remain small in this country. Our Governments,—both National and State,—as they raise money only by taxation, will always be held to a severe economy, in its disbursement. Nevertheless, we do not despair of doing something respectable for the arts. It is the public sentiment, we believe, that the capitol at Washington should be finished and decorated in a style becoming the metropolis of the Union; and we hope to see its superb rotunda gradually filled up with the statues of the distinguished statesmen and heroes of our annals,—an historical pantheon of liberty. The division of the country into numerous states and the contemporaneous growth of several large commercial cities, although unfavorable to that concentration of patronage and to that condensed *stimulus*, which belong to one metropolitan seat of civilization, may yet operate, by a generous rivalry. Virginia long ago procured for her capital a statue of her greatest son. North Carolina has followed the example, and enriched the country with the only specimen, which it possesses of the chisel of Canova. Is it at all probable, that no other State will imitate this example? On the contrary, we doubt if a half century elapses, before every State in the Union will have set up, as a sort of palladium, the statue of the Father of his country. So too of the example, which Boston has set, in procuring the beautiful work of Chantrey, which we have already mentioned. Will New-York, and

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Philadelphia, and Baltimore allow Boston to possess a work of this kind, in the comparison with which they have nothing to exhibit? We do not believe it.

Nor do we wholly despair of what may be done, by individual fortunes. Great as the tendency of every thing among us is to the golden mean of competence, the unrivalled prosperity of our happy country is constantly throwing large accumulations of fortune into the hands of individuals in all our large towns, and throughout the country. We greatly mistake the character of the country, if the cabinet-makers and the carpet-weavers are the only artists, who are to enjoy the patronage of our rich citizens. If we are not mistaken, the age of rose-wood and carved mahogany is already passing away; as for that of *bois doré* (thank heaven) it never fairly dawned on us. We have a pleasing hope, that our young men and women of fortune are beginning to feel that, if they have money to spend in luxuries, it had better be appropriated to objects, that evince rather their own taste, than that of the upholsterer. Let this sentiment be fashionable, and the advancement of the art among us will begin.

5°. The last cause, which contributed to bring the art of Statuary to perfection, among the ancient Greeks, was its employment in the service of religion. The sculptor and the poet were in fact the authors of the popular mythology. When Phidias was asked, whence he drew his conception of the Jupiter Olympius, he repeated the lines, in which Homer describes the father of the gods, shaking Olympus with his nod. This association of Statuary with the popular faith, did for this art, what was done for the lovely and kindred art of painting, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by enlisting it in the service of Christianity. Unhappily it is a consequence of our human weakness, that great movements of reformation are apt, in some respects, to pass to extremes. How much has not one of the sublimest arts, which human skill has ever wrought out and perfected, suffered by having its most finished and exquisite productions swept from the churches? And what good principle or good feeling has gained by it? We know none.

In ancient Greece and Rome, every temple had the image of its peculiar divinity and of numerous others,—all held by the popular faith in a veneration, which was imparted to their statues. Phidias was banished from Athens, for having wrought

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his own portrait and that of his patron Pericles, into the shield of his Minerva: and the inhabitants of Elis would not permit him to put his name on any part of the Jupiter Olympius. This sanctity of the work gave dignity to the art and the artist, without doing him any real injury, even in the trifling sacrifice of self-love, (like that alluded to) which it imposed:—for what did Phidias lose of renown, by not being permitted to introduce his name on the footstool of his Jupiter? Well was it known, throughout the Grecian world, that of all who worshipped that Jupiter, there was but one, who could have dared to fashion his awful brow.

Such was the peculiar character of the Grecian mythology, that, under the name of gods, the artist was permitted to embody the widest range of natural, or imaginative existence. No restraint was imposed on his invention, when it was taken into the service of religion. The Olympian thunderer, the goddess of wisdom, the perfect manhood of Apollo, the chaste huntress, the queen of love, gods and demigods, nymphs, fauns, muses, graces, the whole heavens of the Grecian pantheon, were to be created by the sculptor.

For the Christian world these elegant vanities have passed away; and the art of the sculptor does not lend itself very appropriately, even to the permitted and decent ornament of our places of worship. It is not impossible, that, for this very reason, it must, in its highest perfection, continue to be a lost art. For patriotic, festive, and monumental purposes, it may still be patronised, cultivated, and carried to an elevated point of beauty. But whether it is possible for *any* art, whose basis is laid in the refined sentiments, to be sustained at the point of perfection, without an intimate association with religion, we doubt. At all events thus much is true:—the highest efforts of music, painting, architecture, statuary, poetry, have been consecrated to religion.

ART. II.—*Report of the Committee of Ways and Means, to whom was referred so much of the Message of the President, as relates to the Bank of the United States.* April 13, 1830. pp. 42.

The President of the United States cannot be justly charged with having prematurely presented the subject of the United

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States' Bank to the deliberate consideration of the people. If there are few things, as we are assured by the Committee of Ways and Means,* '*so vitally connected with the health of the body politic, or in which the pecuniary interests of society are so extensively and deeply involved,*' it cannot be held up too frequently to the close observation of an intelligent community, nor the circumstances of its importance be too clearly illustrated or too powerfully enforced. It may with equal reason be esteemed a fit subject for public scrutiny by those also, who believe that the body politic might enjoy excellent health even without the National Bank. That opulent institution enjoys an exclusive privilege; it possesses a capital so immense as to have an almost controlling influence on the money markets of the country; it engages very largely in all parts of the United States in the business of discounting; it boasts, or its friends boast for it, that it has acquired by virtue of its charter, a grand censorship over every local bank in the country; and, by means of its extensive branches, and the vast deposites of the Government, it has facilities for obtaining virtually a monopoly of the very profitable operations of exchange. The time is now drawing near, when the charter of this body, if renewed at all, will probably be renewed for a period, extending through the active portion of the lives of the present generation. It is in reason, therefore, to discuss its nature, and the expediency of its continuance; especially since the renewal will serve as a precedent, and will perhaps decide the question forever. Founded originally with exclusive reference to the services of the Government and the public good, the National Bank should itself rather invite than shun discussion. All its interests, which require to be upheld for the common welfare, have nothing to fear from a deliberate investigation.

The course pursued by the United States' Bank since its incorporation, entitles it to the fairest hearing. With some exceptions in the earlier part of its career, it has conducted its affairs strictly according to the received principles, by which the best banks in the country are regulated. It has adopted among its officers many, who had acquired experience and established a reputation in the service of older corporations. It has been supported in its career by the basis of a solid capital; its modes of doing business have been exact, gentlemanly and

* Mr. Mc Duffie's Report,—page 1.

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accommodating; it has not perverted its excessive and almost irresponsible powers to any purpose of a grasping cupidity, but has rather used them with irreprehensible moderation. Towards many of the banks in the West, it has exhibited a fostering kindness; and although it has ample resources to crush any inconsiderable rival and wreak its vengeance on a feeble enemy, yet it has never, as far as our knowledge extends, attempted to subvert the credit, or even impair the rightful activity of any local institution.

But while it is right to pass high encomiums on the direction of the National Bank, justice equally requires the assertion, that this bank has made no inventions in financial skill, and has only done on a large scale what the institutions of Massachusetts have always effected on a smaller one, even during the gloomy period of the war. The undoubted merits of the National Bank are urged too exclusively; as though other sound establishments of the country were not just as wisely, moderately, and efficiently conducted. It is sometimes eulogized beyond all reasonable bounds; as though the public wealth and credit had been suddenly called into a healthy existence; as though but for it 'the pockets of the Southern planters'* would be picked to give fortunes to adventuring brokers, bills of exchange become mere instruments of extortion, and every local bank in the country fall into the hands of sharpers. And yet in sober truth, there is very little reason to doubt, that the sun would still rise and set, and the day be spent in its usual business, and merchandise be bought and sold, and bills of exchange be negotiated, even without a machine so vast and so very useful as the Bank of the United States. That bank performs its functions well; and the want of it would be felt as a serious inconvenience, not only in the management of the public finances, but in the operations of domestic intercourse and commerce; yet the social system, traffic, discounts, and exchange, might exist on an equitable basis, even without it.

The report of Mr. Mc Duffie has been very elaborately wrought. He announces his subject in an imposing manner. 'The committee,' he says, 'have bestowed all the attention demanded by its intrinsic importance;' they stated it to be

* See the 'Intelligent merchant's' letter, appended to the Report,—page 30.

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one of 'vital' moment, requiring in the sovereign body 'the highest degree of wisdom;' and then they declare that 'they have executed their high trust with a corresponding sense of its magnitude and difficulty.'*

A report, advancing its claims with so much decision, and written with great ability and a clear perception of one view of the subject, has naturally received very great encomiums. The operations of banking are often considered as involving something of mystery, and the state-paper of the committee on a hasty perusal is suited to gain implicit confidence. One merit, in the eyes of many a very great one, it certainly possesses. It is the most unqualified plea in behalf of the Bank of the United States. The directors themselves could not have prepared a more zealous defence; nor detailed the history of the institution in a manner better calculated to win favorable opinions. Far be it from us to declare, that a public document, emanating from a most important committee, contains an *ex parte* statement, based upon information communicated by the managers of the bank; but the most interested stockholder, the best informed director, the most experienced in the series of its presidents, could hardly have written its apology more decidedly in the manner of an advocate.

The very air of confidence with which the argument in the report is conducted, betrays a tendency to exaggeration. Yet that is not the weightiest objection to the performance. From a juxta-position of facts, in themselves disconnected, erroneous inferences are deduced, and effects are ascribed to other causes than the right ones; while a passion for theory sometimes gets the ascendency over practical judgment, and the character of undeniable truth is assumed for tenets, which, to our minds, so far from admitting of the clearest demonstration, seem to rest on mistaken premises or on a perversion of language.

This opinion is somewhat in collision with that, which prevails among our friends. If our convictions were not clear in our own minds, or if they had been formed without reference to the history of the course of business for the last twenty years, or if they had not appeared to coincide with the doctrines of the most respected writers on the subject of money, we should still have distrusted them and have remained silent. But we are constrained to ask for a patient hearing; and if, by argu-

* Report—page 1.

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ments drawn from matters of perfect notoriety, we can prove the author of the report to have erred in facts or in theory, we may hope, that our views will escape censure.

The whole subject of the United States' Bank, its constitutionality, its merits, its contingent evils, its proper sphere of useful action, the nature of its privileges, and the necessary and rightful limitations of its powers, present too large a field for present discussion. We shall rather confine ourselves to the report of Mr. Mc Duffie, and in treating of it we shall first consider the doctrine of the Constitution with respect to *money* and the *currency*. We shall then be able, secondly, to exhibit in a right view the merits, which are claimed for the Bank of the United States, with reference to the currency, to exchanges, and to the public service. The insinuations of a calumnious or a sneering nature, which lurk in several parts of the report, will require no answer but exposure, for they will be shewn to proceed from a want of exact acquaintance with facts, or to be inferences from an erroneous theory.

1st. Public justice, not less than the public prosperity of an industrious nation, requires an exact uniformity in the standard of value. In every portion of one and the same country, however wide and various may be its constituent parts, this uniformity should be demanded by the people and secured by the government. There can be no equity in the relations of debtor and creditor without it; and all commercial transactions would require to be preceded by a chaffering on the meaning of terms, unless that value were fixed beyond dispute by a law, universal in its operation.

The power of regulating the common currency is very different from that of *fixing the general standard of value.** The right of fixing the general standard of value, is an essential attribute of the supreme authority, to be exercised exclusively by the sovereignty of the country. The *common currency* is, in the ordinary course of things, provided for without the interposition of government. Thus at the present time in New England, Congress has fixed the general standard of value, but 'the Allied Banks' or, more strictly speaking, the

* Mr. Mc Duffie confounds the two. He speaks of 'the power of regulating the common currency, and *thus* fixing the general standard of value.' He seems to make the power of fixing the general standard consequent on that of regulating the common currency. He starts in an error, and his whole argument partakes of it.

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rightful jealousy of free competition, regulates the common currency. The one is established by the sovereign authority of the country, singly, originally, and without check, influence, or control; the other is ensured by the nature of business, under the protection of the laws and the guarantee of the Constitution.

In this part of our discussion we tread on firm ground. The framers of our Constitution have, on the subject of money, done their work thoroughly, and with admirable discretion. Guided by the instinct of justice and sound sense, they have incorporated into the great charter of our liberties, the principles, which it is the glory of the political economists of our day to elucidate and arrange. The wisdom of our fundamental laws had already reduced them to practice; and Storch, and Say, and Tracy, while they have read lessons of great moment, the one to his august pupil at St. Petersburg, the others to the great nation of France, have only recommended the doctrines, which our country in convention had already established for its government forever.

The framers of our Constitution, as in the formation of the civil union they were able to derive instruction from contemplating the distant wrecks of former republics, and still more from observing the various evils of the previous confederation, were in their decisions on the subject of money, impelled to a course of uncompromising exactness by the pressure of the visible and present evils, which followed the depreciation of Continental money and the authoritative emissions of Provincial paper. They, therefore, left nothing dark or doubtful on the subject, but provided for every contingency, by which the currency of the country could be debased.

The subject merits special consideration. At the hazard of repeating common truths we shall enter upon it.

The necessities of the commercial world requiring some common value as a medium for the exchange of commodities, universal custom has established the use of gold and silver as the common value, by the interposition of which those exchanges are effected. They are the commercial '*wagon-way*'* on which the productions of human ingenuity and labor are carried to market. Or they may be called the wagons themselves, in which the products of industry and skill are trans-

* The term is Adam Smith's.

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ported. The metaphors we have used, may or may not elucidate the subject; but it is a true and undeniable position, that in the language of universal commerce, *gold and silver are money*, and *nothing else is money*. Other things may be the sign of money,—no exact limits can be set to human confidence; but gold and silver alone pass current at all the great marts and public fairs of the world, at New York and Calcutta, at Canton and London, at Leipsick and Mecca, at Boston and Lima. All commercial nations acknowledge their value as a medium of exchange, and nothing else is universally acknowledged as such.

The Constitution of the United States declares, that '*no State shall make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts.*' Thus the commercial truth, that gold and silver alone are money, becomes in the United States *an axiom of Constitutional law.*

The precious metals are adapted to this purpose because they have an intrinsic value, and not a merely conventional one. That they should be a common circulating medium, is conventional; but the value at which they circulate is not conventional. This value, like that of all the other produce of industry, is regulated by the cost of production; and nothing can permanently depress their value, but the increase of their quantity. They cannot be multiplied at will; their worth is positive and absolute; and while the local demand may vary according to the supply of the market, gold and silver in the mass hold their value, independently of the fluctuations of commerce, or the character of any substituted currency.

These are axioms established by experience, and by the nature of the case, undeniable, and undenied by any writer of authority, except, indeed, by the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. We are reluctant to interrupt the general course of the argument, but this is the only opportunity that will be offered for exposing the error of a position, which is advanced in a very unqualified manner by that distinguished statesman.

Mr. Mc Duffie asserts, that banks, by 'doubling the quantity of the circulating medium by their excessive issues, produce a general degradation of the entire currency, *including gold and silver*, proportionate to the redundancy of the issues, and wholly independent of the relative depreciation of bank

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paper at different places, as compared with specie.'* And lest there should be any mistake, he adds, after an illustration by reference to the high nominal prices, which unquestionably follow a depreciation in the currency, that the depreciation 'would exist, *though these bills were of undoubted credit and convertible into specie at the pleasure of the holder*, and would result simply from the redundancy of their quantity. It is important,' (he continues, as if bent on making his error as conspicuous as possible, and we beg especial attention to our citation,) 'it is important to a just understanding of the subject, that the relative depreciation of bank paper at different places, as compared with specie, should not be confounded with this *general depreciation of the entire mass of the circulating medium, including specie*. Though closely allied, both in their causes and effects, they deserve to be separately considered.'

'The evils,' (and we quote this paragraph, simply for the statement in the closing sentence, having reference to this imagined general depreciation,) 'the evils resulting from the relative depreciation of bank paper at different places, are more easily traced to their causes, more palpable in their nature, and, consequently, more generally understood by the community. Though *much less ruinous* than the evils resulting from the *general depreciation of the whole currency*, they are yet of sufficient magnitude to demand attention.'†

A banker, who reads these extracts, and who knows what would be the effect of excessive issues on himself, and how soon they would return upon him to his cost, will not need a refutation of this novel doctrine. He will content himself with saying, that Mr. Mc Duffie, notwithstanding his elaborate report, cannot have a practical acquaintance with banking business.

The student of political economy, calling to mind the theory of issuing bills, knows very well, that the amount of convertible paper, which can be kept in circulation, is proportioned neither to the caprice nor to the cupidity of bank directors, but solely to the demands of the commercial community for the purposes of domestic circulation. The operations of banking contain their own check within themselves; and as long as bills are really convertible at sight, the obligation to redeem

* Report—page 9. † Report—page 10.

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necessarily sets exact limits to the power of emission. A *redundancy of convertible paper* is a contradiction in terms,—if it were *redundant* it would be *converted.*

The man of plain intelligence, who understands very well the prodigious mischiefs of a depreciated paper currency, does not see how a redundancy of paper *of undoubted credit and convertible into specie at the pleasure of the holder* (we use Mr. Mc Duffie's own words,) can be a worse calamity. He may be perplexed and mystified for a moment by a confused idea of this menaced redundancy, but he presently gathers confidence, and understands his own interests far too well, to perceive any evil in an abundance of 'bills of undoubted credit and *convertible into specie at the pleasure of the holder.*' The more we have of such paper, the better; the better for the individual, and the better for the public. There cannot exist a 'ruinous redundancy' of it.

The position advanced in the report is absurd on its face; yet a word or two of explanatory argument must be added.

If the banks should of a sudden double their issues, one of three things would ensue. 1st. Business would be doubled, (which is too improbable to be readily supposed,) and so of a sudden, and instantly, twice as many wagons would be needed to carry produce to market. In that case the circulation would be upheld, and specie and bank bills all retain their former value. But the probabilities are, that business would not thus increase; therefore, 2dly. the redundant bills would forthwith be returned upon the banks and be redeemed. In this case the public would not lose; the demands on the banks, so far from depreciating the value of gold and silver, would keep them in high demand, and the banks would suffer from frequent and imperious runs. Or, 3dly. the redundant currency would not be redeemed, and then the paper depreciates, but gold and silver are sought for and retain their value.

These are positions which cannot be gainsaid, and which are, and of necessity must be, perfectly familiar to every manager of a public bank. We trust in Mr. Mc Duffie's candor to acknowledge his mistake. We feel very confident, that the direction of the United States' Bank would not fail, if consulted, to assure him that he had fallen into an error.

Mr. Mc Duffie may not have understood the practical nature of the business respecting which he was writing. Yet there is one point of view, which might have presented itself even to

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the mind of one wholly ignorant of the details of banking. Though local paper is not in demand for foreign commerce, gold and silver always are, and, instead of any considerable depreciation, they would have been exported.

Indeed, we have heard no complaints in our part of the Union of the redundancy or the depreciation of gold and silver, nor yet of convertible paper. The evils resulting from the relative depreciation of bank paper as compared with specie, were certainly of very great magnitude; we cannot wonder that these evils are 'more easily traced to their causes, and more palpable in their nature,' than the imagined mischiefs ensuing on the general degradation of the entire mass of the currency, including gold and silver. The one class of evils existed, and can exist again, and is productive of infinite vexation; the other class has being only in the realms of sophistry and the receptacles of theory.

Gold and silver would be utterly unsuited to the purposes of commercial exchanges, if their value fluctuated with the emissions of banks; if the monied corporations of the country could by a capricious doubling of their issues suddenly take a moiety from the value of the whole currency, including specie. But the processes of business are fortunately based upon principles, which unwise legislation may confuse, but cannot subvert. Specie holds its value amidst all the fluctuations of paper currency and the *redundant* issues return on the bank. Still more is this the case with paper, which is forced into circulation. The assignats in France caused specie to become at once in the highest demand; and when it required a hundred dollars of our old Continental money to buy a day's living, a silver dollar, like a true friend, the more esteemed for the exposure of false ones, was as efficacious as ever.

Indeed, it is a plain inference from the doctrine of Mr. Mc Duffie, that the highest injustice might follow from the existence of a bank, and more especially of a bank like that of the United States. If the value of the standard coin can be reduced by capricious emissions, all banks are dangerous, and dangerous in a degree increasing with the amount of their capital. The influence of a local bank is narrow; that of the United States' Bank is co-extensive with the Union. The currency is stated to be at present fifty-five millions of dollars. Let the United States' Bank 'expand its issues' to an amount of eighteen and a third millions beyond their present circula-

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tion, and on the theory of Mr. Mc Duffie the whole circulation would then be diminished in value in the proportion of one part in three; he who now owes $900 would virtually pay with but $600; and it would require three dollars to buy what two dollars now purchase. The standard of value would thus be effectively debased under an act of the General Government; and as much injury and disorder would ensue as occurred in the Austrian dominions from a debasement of the coin. The evil would be worse, for a board of directors might according to their own caprice, elevate and depress the standard of value at pleasure. Every one will agree, that a corporation ought never in any country, least of all in ours, to be invested with such despotic power over the honest relations of business. We leave the zealous advocate of the National Bank to his choice of abandoning his theory, or acknowledging the injustice of that establishment.

In truth the danger is a chimera, like the theory of the Chairman. Banking corporations are controlled by principles stronger than any mistaken cupidity. So far as prices in specie or convertible paper differ now from what they were in *specie or convertible paper* in 1816, the difference is to be ascribed to the difference in the state of the market as to the supply and the demand; and to nothing else. Bank credit, as such, may assist business, but, as it can never do more than displace the specie in circulation, it cannot depress prices. It may work its own ruin, but it cannot subvert the dues of creditors. If bank bills were to be manufactured out of every scrap of paper in the country, if a promissory note were to be written on every chip, which falls from the emigrant's axe in the Western forests, the value of gold and silver would not be diminished, though business for a season might be deranged.

One further remark. We have seen what a dangerous and despotic power Mr. Mc Duffie's imagination has attributed to banks. We have shown that that power, if possessed at all, is possessed in the highest degree by the United States' Bank; while in reality no such power exists. Mr. Mc Duffie has, however, gone much further. He believes not only that the power exists, but that the 'money making corporations,' (of which, by the way, the United States' Bank is the largest) 'have a decided interest to abuse their power.' He even accuses the banks of the country of practices the most atrocious; of managing to get people indebted to them, and then,

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refusing further discounts, in order to acquire their property at half its intrinsic value. He adds, '*If the committee have not greatly mistaken the matter, there is more of history than of speculation in what they have here presented to the consideration of the House.*'*

We look upon this passage as the least ingenuous and the most erroneous in the whole Report. As it stands at present, this charge, wholly unsupported by evidence, is in fact directed against no particular institution, and yet it operates as a vague insinuation against the character of all. Such a mode of exciting prejudice or begetting odium is unworthy of a statesman, who enjoys the high distinction, already attained by Mr. Mc Duffie. A charge, if made at all, should be made openly and fearlessly; in such a way as to admit of a special refutation as well as to be a subject for distinct and convincing proof. But yet on the general question, a few first principles and plain truths will tend to throw discredit on the vague imputation.

It is not possible for a local bank to obtain by oppressive means the effects of its debtors, when those debtors are rightfully entitled to further discounts. The several corporations are too near each other, to render any such odious project a feasible one. Competition is keen, and the directors of one bank would cheerfully receive the solvent customers of another. No single institution can have sufficient control over the money market to accomplish any purpose of total oppression. The United States' Bank alone, by means of its numerous branches and its immense capital, could effect such an object. The power, therefore, lies solely with the National Bank, and cannot be acquired by a local one.

It is, further, directly opposed to the interests of a bank, to practise upon the system described by Mr. Mc Duffie. It would be the commission of an act of suicide. It would be a wilful destruction of the source of gain. This view of the subject applies equally to every local and to the national company. The very nature of business, the very desire of continued profits, will always induce an extension of discounts, as far as the resources of the lenders will permit. A bank will always for its own sake sustain its debtors as far as this can safely be done. To distress them purposely, and to ruin them in order to prey upon their wreck, would be more foolish even

* Report,—page 12.

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than criminal. It would be but a sorry imitation of the woman of classic celebrity, who killed her best hen. The golden eggs are worth more than the carcass.

The laws of the States generally operated in such a manner as to render any attempts of banking companies to seize the property of their creditors in lieu of renewing discounts, entirely abortive and injurious to the banks themselves. In Massachusetts, a title under a mortgage is not perfected for three years; and mercy interposes every where all reasonable delays. In this way, a banking corporation would be required to give up the employment of its capital, until the tardy forms of the law have been observed and the transfers and subsequent sales have been effected. Who does not see, that the bank would be a loser in all its operations from any perverse disposition to oppress? Complaints, it is true, are often made, and in the loudest tone, by men to whom further indulgence is from sufficient reasons denied; they have been strongest in the case of the branch bank of Cincinnati. But has that branch incurred a suspicion of having purposely become a large holder of real estate, a speculator in houses and building lots?

In point of fact, there is not a bank in this section of the country, against which the shadow of a suspicion rests of having pursued the course of gratuitous wickedness, alleged by the committee. When we ask, in what part of the country the atrocities have been a matter 'of history,' there is no answer but the West; somewhere in the vast region between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains; somewhere in the wide expanse of that newest Hesperia, where civilization has made its way within the lifetime of the present generation. But we believe in the firmness of the social system, so suddenly called into action; and the great principles, by which civil life is sustained and moved, must there also exercise their necessary influence. Many banks in those regions attempted operations without possessing a solid capital. There is, however, no need of going to the West for examples of that sort of miscalculation; an intolerable nuisance any where, which may yet result from unwise legislation in New York or Massachusetts as well as in Ohio and Kentucky. But such banks are soon at the mercy of the public. They cannot oppress others, but must cry for forbearance for themselves. We infer, therefore, that for the wickedness, so loosely and indiscriminately charged by the

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committee, there is even less scope in the new part of the country than in the older States.

We return from this digression, into which we were unavoidably led by the error of Mr. Mc Duffie, to the axiom of Constitutional law. Throughout our wide confederacy, *gold and silver alone are money;* nothing else can be made a tender for the payment of debts.

But gold and silver coin do not in fact constitute our circulating medium. We have then to inquire how the circulating medium, within the limits of a confederacy, or a government, may come to be other than specie, and what are the provisions of the Constitution with respect to any possible substitution.

There are two different modes, in which this substitution may be attempted; by force, and by common consent. The one makes the substituted medium lawful tender; the other leaves a free option. The one is a desperate measure of a government whose credit is tottering; the other presupposes a firm government, to enforce contracts. The one is against the will and the interest of the people; the other is strictly a matter of choice, and may therefore be esteemed as existing by general agreement, to promote individual and the public interests. The one implies the authority of a government, which enforces the circulation of the substitute; the other implies the consent of government, which guarantees to each individual the right of refusing to accept the substitute. The one is a swindling process, which defrauds creditors; the other is an affair of convenience merely, and has no necessary effect whatever on the right of the creditor.

The forcible substitution of a circulating medium, other than gold and silver, is a process, which has been attempted at one time or another by almost every government of Europe from cupidity, dishonesty, or under the pressure of pecuniary embarrassments. On our continent, it was repeatedly practised by the Provincial Governments, and was an expedient adopted by the Continental Congress. The framers of our Constitution had a distinct knowledge of the evil, and prepared the great instrument, which is the guarantee of justice throughout the country, under the clear perception of the intolerable evils, which such a forcible substitution occasions.

There are two forms, under which that substitution can be made; the first is *paper-money*, strictly so called, that is, pa-

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per, bearing a certain nominal value, issued by government, (as in the case of the French assignats,) or under the sanction of government, (as in the case of the Bank of England notes, when specie payments were suspended,) and made by law a sufficient tender for the payment of debts. This paper-money has no wings; it will not fly, but is embarrassed by an increasing downward tendency. Its worth is to be estimated by the means provided for its ultimate redemption; it may also be kept up in value, if there be not too much of it in circulation, by being made receivable in all payments to the government. In this latter case, the government virtually pledges itself to redeem a portion of the bills; because to receive them cheerfully and without discount, operates so far as a redemption. If the issues of such paper be less than the demand for them to pay government, the notes will remain at par, or nearly at par; for they will every one of them be at once redeemed, not by the bank, but by the treasury of the country. Where the issues are thus confined, there will, however, be no necessity for resorting to the method of stopping payment by law. It is only for the sake of greater emissions, that specie payments are refused. Depreciation necessarily ensues. The *paper-money* of France fell, till it was worth nothing at all, notwithstanding the most imperative enactments enjoining its circulation. But necessity is stronger than absolute law. The *paper-money* of England, (it was essentially and virtually paper-money) fluctuated in value. Its greatest depreciation in 1814, was a little more than twenty-five per cent.

The operation of this forcible substitution of paper-money, is obviously to debase the standard of money; in its character it is essentially a swindling process. The creditor to whom a debt was contracted on the former standard of money, receives no full equivalent, but is defrauded in proportion to the depreciation. If the standard should again become restored, the hardship is reversed; and the debtor will find himself compelled to pay a sum beyond what he borrowed, equal to the rise in the standard of money.

Our country is protected against any such calamity by the Constitution of the United States. The States have severally relinquished the dangerous power of emitting bills of credit; and, while no power is delegated to Congress to issue paper-money, the States are prohibited from making paper-money, or any thing else but good coin, a tender in payment of debts.

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The second form, under which a forcible substitution of a *currency*, other than of gold and silver, may be effected,—and it is a method which has been very widely adopted in many of the small and some of the larger States of Europe,—is the debasing of the coin. If, for example, the Austrian Government were to coin florins anew, and allow to each coin but one half of the weight of pure silver, which is now contained in it, it is manifest, that the basis of the currency would be changed. The coin in such a case ceases to have the intrinsic, real value, which it purports to possess, and owes its currency at its nominal value, solely to the authority and command of the laws; while the government commits a robbery on its creditors to the amount of the debasement of the coin.

Which of these methods is the worse, paper-money, or debased coin? If the paper-money is never to be redeemed, then the public is evidently defrauded of the whole amount issued; while in the case of a debased coinage, the robbery is of no more than a fraction. A false value is in the one case impressed on a scrap of paper; in the other on an alloy of silver. The scrap of paper is intrinsically good for nothing; the adulterated silver is still in itself not wholly without a value. Gross injustice is in either case committed; and it is but a sorry excuse to pretend, that the injustice and iniquity of the measure are just and equal in their operation.

Against such an adulteration of the coin also, the Constitution of the United States has done all in its power to protect the country. *No State shall coin money. The Congress*, (and Congress alone) shall have power *to coin money* and *regulate the value thereof. To coin money;* that is, to stamp metal for money; *to regulate the value thereof;* that is, to fix the weight and fineness of the gold or silver, and set its mark declaring that weight and fineness. Be it, that 'for example,* the gold bars of Ricardo should be substituted for our present coins by the general consent of the commercial world,' it would still remain necessary to ascertain the weight and the fineness of those bars, and to set a declaratory mark; and that would be coining money; the only way in which Congress could *make* such money, unless indeed it should discover the philosopher's stone. Neither 'sense' nor 'sound' would be sacrificed; neither 'substance' nor 'form.'

* The Report—page 6.

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We are reluctantly compelled once more to interrupt the general analysis of the subject, and make a digression in order to expose the bold interpretation of the Constitution, attempted by Mr. Mc Duffie. We must quote a long passage; to which our remarks have already alluded.

'The power to "coin money and fix the value thereof," is expressly and exclusively vested in Congress. This grant was evidently intended to invest Congress with the power of regulating the circulating medium. "Coin" was regarded, at the period of framing the Constitution, as synonymous with "currency," as it was then generally believed that bank notes could only be maintained in circulation by being the true representative of the precious metals. The word "coin," therefore, must be regarded as a particular term, standing as the representative of a general idea. No principle of sound construction will justify a rigid adherence to the letter, in opposition to the plain intention of the clause. If, for example, the gold bars of Ricardo should be substituted for our present coins, by the general consent of the commercial world, could it be maintained that Congress would not have the power to *make* such money, and fix its value, because it is not "coined?" This would be sacrificing sense to sound, and substance to mere form. This clause of the Constitution is analogous to that which gives Congress the power "to establish post roads." Giving to the word "establish" its restricted interpretation, as being equivalent to "fix," or "prescribe," can it be doubted that Congress has the power to establish a canal, or a river, as a post route, as well as a road? Roads were the ordinary channels of conveyance, and the term was, therefore, used as synonymous with "routes," whatever might be the channel of transportation, and, in like manner, "coin," being the ordinary and most known form of a circulating medium, that term was used as synonymous with currency.'—page 6.

Here again Mr. Mc Duffie is, in our view, entirely in the wrong. Let us attempt to prove him so.

And first, observe what a sweeping assertion he makes in his argumentative zeal. '*Coin* was regarded' (says he) 'at the period of framing the Constitution, as synonymous with '*currency*.' And can it have been so? Had not the continent just before been deluged with a paper currency, which surely was not synonymous with coin? But hear Mr. Mc Duffie's reason. 'It was then generally believed that bank notes could only be maintained in circulation by being the true representative of the precious metals.' If by this it is meant, that bank notes could only be maintained in circulation *at par*

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value, by being the true representative of the precious metals, it was, doubtless, generally believed so by the framers of the Constitution, and is generally believed so now; and coin and currency were then no more synonymous than they now are. But if he mean strictly, as his words import, that it was then believed, that bank notes could *only* be maintained (at any rate) in circulation by being the true representatives of the precious metals, he is entirely mistaken in the fact. The framers of the Constitution had seen a paper currency remain in circulation, though at a depreciated value, without its being a true, or even a plausible representative of the precious metals; and the notes of the Bank of Pennsylvania, as well as the paper-money of Massachusetts, had notoriously and long before been in circulation, and served (in a most deplorable manner to be sure, but still had served) as a currency.

A venerable friend whom we have consulted, assures us, that *coin* in those days had, as at present, its appropriate meaning, while *currency* was used especially of paper. To say then, that at the period of framing our Constitution *coin* was regarded as synonymous with currency, is a gratuitous charge of excessive ignorance on the wisest statesmen of the country, who had had abundant experience under the Colonial and Continental Governments, of the vast difference between bank notes and paper on the one hand, and gold and silver coin on the other.

If we look into the Constitution, we shall find Mr. Mc Duffie's interpretation entirely inapplicable. *Congress shall have power to regulate the value of foreign coin.* Does *coin* here mean *currency?* We have entered upon this discussion with a full sense of the rare endowments and valuable experience of Mr. Mc Duffie. We have been sensible, that in attempting to charge error upon one, who has so long possessed peculiar opportunities for understanding the finances of the country, we incur imminent peril of being found in error ourselves. It is right for us, therefore, to weigh our own arguments well before we advance them; knowing that they will have to encounter, not only the force of Mr. Mc Duffie's own statement, but the influence of his established reputation. We have, therefore, considered ourselves as bound to be cautious from every motive of common prudence. Yet we differ in opinion from the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means; we differ on a subject, which

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we have carefully revolved, which seems to us of great moment, and which is decidedly a fit one for free discussion. We venture, therefore, to proceed. *Provocamus ad populum;* we appeal to the common sense of statesmen, of bankers, and of the people, and we believe, that if truth is on our side, our humble voice will be heard even against high authority. *To regulate the value of foreign coin;* what is meant by it? Is it not plainly to fix the mint price of the *gold and silver coin* of other nations? Or was it intended, that Congress shall regulate the value of foreign *currency?* that Congress shall make out a broker's table of the price of all bank notes that pass *current* in any part of the universal world; shall set a value on the French assignats, and declare the discount on English bank notes; shall fix the worth of a paper Russian ruble, and a bill of the bank of Vienna; shall settle the value of that, which has no intrinsic value; shall regulate the price of that, which is forever fluctuating; in a word, shall fix the value, not of the gold and silver coin of a foreign country only, but shall fix the value of the credit of its private bankers, and the value of the credit of its government? We appeal to the people. Can Mr. Mc Duffie's interpretation of the word '*coin*'* be sustained?

But has not Congress under the Constitution, it may be asked, the power also of regulating the common currency, or any substituted currency? We answer, that it has its duties on this point; and that too, in its own right, independent of any national bank, or any privileged corporation. This brings us back from our digression; and we now return to the further analysis of the subject on which we had entered.

We have seen, that we are protected by the Constitution against any forced substitution of a paper currency, and also against a rivalship of the States in debasing the coin. We are protected against any *forcible* substitution of any currency whatever. But there is another substitute, which is *purely voluntary*. It is not merely, that one man will trust another, but that all agree in trusting some common person, or some association of persons. In the great concerns of business, negotiable paper forms a large portion of this voluntary circulating medium; but for all ordinary purposes we use bank bills.

* So far as the use of language has varied, *coin* meant in the days of the framing of the Constitution just what it now does, but *currency* meant 'the papers stamped in the colonies, and passing for money;' as Johnson's Dictionary, a contemporary authority, sets forth.

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Now bank bills are neither money nor yet lawful currency, nor *paper-money*, technically so called. Compared with money, bank bills are the sign, and money the thing signified. They differ quite as much from lawful paper currency. For bank bills are under the law convertible; paper currency under the law is not. The one may be refused in receiving payment of a debt; the other may not be refused, but is lawful tender. In the case of bank bills, the government leaves the acceptance of them voluntary, but enforces the redemption of them, if they are accepted; in the other, the government forces the acceptance, and offers no means of recovering the full value of the paper. In the one case, government sides with the holder of a bill and protects him against loss; in the other, it sides with the party issuing the bill, and protects that party in its fraud.

Here then it is apparent, that a sure and easy remedy is provided for the refusal to redeem a bank bill by a suit at law. The case is strictly analogous to that of any other promissory note, which falls due, and of which payment is refused. The courts of justice furnish a sure remedy on the occasion. Nor would it be possible for a State Legislature effectually to interfere; for, on the one hand, it is precluded from making bank bills a legal currency, a lawful tender, and, on the other, it cannot sustain the bank against a suit. Were it to attempt any interference, relief might immediately be found in the courts of the United States. Should a State in the extreme distress of its citizens, goaded on by the pressure of debts, resort to a measure so dangerous and so unjust, the Supreme Court of the United States would at once set that measure aside; for a bank note contains a contract, and *no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts.*

Thus we see, that the framers of the Constitution provided for every contingency, to which experience had demonstrated, that the circulating medium was exposed. They provided against a paper currency, against debased coin, against bills of credit of the States, more especially as a branch of paper currency, and against bank notes of which the payment is refused. Nothing is omitted. The glorious instrument is, in this as in its other parts, distinct and decided, concise and comprehensive. With wonderful sagacity it has embodied into itself every sound principle on the subject, and all the elaborate investigations, which the financial difficulties and fluctuating cur-

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rencies of Europe have called forth, have but led to the results, which the wisdom of our fathers had already, with unequalled sagacity, incorporated into the supreme law of the land, and fixed in proud security far above the influence of theorising statesmen, or the dangerous fickleness of experimental legislation.

It may seem presumptuous in us to have attempted to refute the explanation, which the distinguished Chairman has given of the Constitution. Nor should we have ventured to do so, had not the letter and the spirit of that instrument seemed to us on this subject so plain, that a wayfaring man may read and comprehend. Our views are in strict accordance with the preamble to the original act of 1791, establishing a Bank of the United States, and we too would shelter ourselves under the authority of Mr. Madison; for he once deemed the establishment of the bank unconstitutional, but he never could have doubted the sovereignty of Congress over the *legal currency* of the country.

Let us then comment a little on Mr. Mc Duffie's commentary.

'But even, if it should be conceded, that the grant of power "to coin money and fix the value thereof," does not, in its terms, give Congress the power of regulating any other than the "coined" currency of the Union, may not the power of regulating any substituted currency, and especially one which is the professed representative of coin, be fairly claimed as an incidental power,—as an essential means of carrying into effect the plain intention of the Constitution, in clothing Congress with the principal power?' Page 7.

Now we would venture to ask, whether Mr. Mc Duffie is prepared to defend all the inferences that may be drawn from this doctrine. Shall Congress regulate the issues of the bank of Charleston? Shall Congress inquire into the value of its notes? Shall Congress pass laws on the degree of its credit? Shall Congress appoint a committee to examine its vaults? Shall Congress inspect its books? Shall Congress fix the amount of its capital? Shall Congress try it for any misdemeanor, and deprive it of its charter? Has Congress all these powers? And can the currency of the notes of the bank of Charleston be regulated by a legislative body not possessed of them? Congress has nothing to do with the bank of Charleston, or any other

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local bank; it does not acknowledge the bank notes of any local bank to be money, and protects itself, and every citizen of the country, by preserving its own rights and theirs to be paid in the *legal currency*.

Mr. Mc Duffie proceeds:

'This power was granted in the same clause with that to regulate weights and measures, and for similar reasons. The one was designed to ensure a uniform measure of value, as the other was designed to ensure a uniform measure of quantity. The former is decidedly the more important, and belongs essentially to the General Government, according to every just conception of our system.' Report—page 7.

Surely the power exists in the General Government, has always been claimed by it, and has always been exercised by it. We have now, and have invariably had under the General Government *one uniform measure of value, one legal currency*, prevailing throughout the Union, without any change, ever since the act of 1792, regulating the coins of the United States. But Mr. Mc Duffie thinks that law not sufficient; it has not, it would seem, accomplished its full purpose. He says:

'Now it was in vain for Congress to regulate the value of coin, when the actual currency, professing to be its equivalent, bore no fixed relation to it. This great and essential power of fixing the standard of value, was, in point of fact, taken from Congress, and exercised by some hundreds of irresponsible banking corporations,' &c. Report—page 7.

Oh no, very far from it. No irresponsible banking corporation can arbitrarily change the standard of value in the slightest degree. And if these corporations abused their own resources, if they sacrificed their own credit for the sake of unjust gain, it was *the more essential that the standard of value should be unalterably fixed*. But for that, we should have been at sea without chart or compass; it was the certainty of the legal standard which was the pole-star in the midst of all our grievous difficulties. The standard of value was fortunately established, and established immovably; so that there was a point, from which to measure the deviations of credit. The *legal currency* of the country knew no change. And only by that undeviating standard could the aberrations of the local banks be computed.

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The Constitution does assuredly provide that all imposts and excises shall be uniform; there has existed and there can exist no state of things, which will justify a departure from so plain a principle of justice. Congress was, therefore, under the most solemn constitutional obligations to insist on the exercise of that equity, and always to exact its dues with even impartiality. But when it is asserted, that for this establishment of justice the United States' Bank was not only an appropriate, but *the only safe and effectual means*, we must say, that this is precisely the question at issue. Mr. Madison, in the passage cited by Mr. Mc Duffie, attributes no such potent influences to the National Bank. He refers to the measures adopted in the first session of the fourteenth Congress, to the resolution, which he approved, April 30, 1816. These *measures* he deems pregnant with *every promise of success*. He calls the United States' Bank neither an appropriate means, nor the only means, nor indeed does he call it a means at all; it is in his language merely an auxiliary. Following the reference of Mr. Madison, we shall endeavor to prove the negative of Mr. Mc Duffie's assertion. But this brings us to the second division of our subject.

2d. Because the derangement of the currency of the country followed soon after the refusal to renew the charter of the former United States' Bank, and because the restoration of credit to the bills of the local banks was nearly simultaneous with the establishment of the second corporation, it is inferred that these circumstances are connected. Without a National Bank, it is argued, the currency will be deranged; with one, it is sound and sure. To establish our own view we must show,

1. That the derangement in the currency can be explained by a cause nearer and more plain than the want of a National Bank;

2. That the restoration of the currency was not primarily owing to the establishment of the bank, and might have been effected without it;

3. That the United States' Bank is not, and in the nature of things cannot be intrusted with any special or peculiar powers to regulate the currency.

4. That it does not now regulate the currency.

Our arguments must be derived from a reference to facts, still fresh in the minds of all our elder men of business. And

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yet we are almost induced to cry out, that there is no such thing as a fact in the world, when we find some statements like the following.

'Whatever diversity of opinion prevailed as to the proper basis and organization of a bank, almost every one agreed that a National Bank of some sort was indispensably necessary to rescue the country from the greatest of financial calamities.'*

Here we have it asserted, as if on the almost unanimous authority of Congress, that a bank was necessary to rescue the country from '*avowed* bankruptcy.' Now mark the facts. The country was saved; its credit was in a great measure restored; its treasury notes rallied and were recovering their value, without a National Bank. The act incorporating that institution was not passed, till the peace was concluded, and the credit of the Government had already become equal to that of perhaps any government in Europe. The drowning man was on dry land again, before the bank could come to the '*rescue*.'

1. The degradation of the local currency in many parts of the country happened during the war, and was the result of the exigencies occasioned by the war. The disorder in the common currency was continued and sustained by acts of government, which are generally acknowledged to have been unconstitutional and unjust, but which are attributable, not to a purpose of injustice, but to a want of credit on the part of the administration.

Business received from the war a new direction, and a new impulse. The advantages derived by individuals from the use of credit, became, from the sudden change, still more necessary for the security of former transactions, and enterprise was continually discovering new methods for the profitable employments of money. Prices rose; the performance of the same amount of business as before, required a larger capital; trade was rendered more costly by the burdensome duties, which the public exigencies demanded; and the produce of domestic industry was enhanced in value by the new classes of consumers, which the necessities of war called away from labor. Thus there was a greatly increased demand for money for individual purposes, and the high prices which Mr. Mc

* Report—page 9.

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Duffie erroneously ascribes to the excess of the circulating medium, were themselves the motive, which induced the banks to increase their issues; for, as the cost of merchandise rose, the necessity for a larger circulating medium was felt. The customers of the banks asked for discounts to the utmost extent of their credit; till finally a loan on the best security came to be considered a favor.

Large remittances were also made to England. The temporary depreciation of the British currency, combined with other circumstances, had reduced the rates of exchange on England to a degree wholly without a parallel. Much capital was then withdrawn from the country, and could not return till peace had been concluded. The influence thus exercised on the money market, was in no respect altered by the character of the transaction.

As the Southern country had received its foreign supplies chiefly through Northern and Eastern importers, the South was, as a business portion of the community, indebted to the North; there was a large balance even against New-York. Here was a new cause of embarrassments and curtailments of business. But the operations of commerce, unlike the character of absolute legislation, contain their corrective principle within themselves. The laws were a sufficient guarantee against the fraudulent substitution of any other than the legal currency of the country; and the healthy principles of justice, discreetly enforced, were bringing the affairs of commerce to their proper condition; though they tended to make money scarce, and to check the discounts of the banks.

Thus far things were pursuing their natural course. But there came into the market another customer, whose present wants were pressing, and whose necessities, it was apparent, were likely to increase. The Government asked for money, when the market was already exhausted by private individuals for the purposes of business. When small sums could with difficulty be obtained, it asked for large ones; and when paper, that would soon be at maturity, could hardly be discounted, it required loans for an unlimited period.

The necessities of the Administration were imperative. The sacrifices were made, which were required, first by the high rates of interest and profits in business, and secondly by the tottering credit of the Government. Terms were eventually offered, which proved successful; and money was loaned to

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the United States by several of the banks, by individuals who themselves obtained discounts, or finally by individuals who withdrew their deposits. In this way vast quantities of bills were put in circulation for public obligations, which were to be kept at some indefinite day.

The bills, thus unwarily issued, returned rapidly upon the banks, and specie was demanded. But the notes of the Government were not payable, or were not paid, at a stipulated time; and how could the bills be redeemed, for which those notes had been received?

Not every bank in the three great commercial cities of the centre of the Union, had been indiscreet in its issues; not every one, under the influence of patriotism or some other motive, had involved itself in the perplexity, for which there was no relief but the suspension of cash payments. The banks of New-York had even refused any attempts at legislative interference, and had resolved to persist in redeeming their bills, when the news came, that specie was refused in Philadelphia. The example was immediately followed by New-York, either from necessity, or prudence, or cupidity, or a purpose of reasonable retaliation and self-defence.

It is the highest eulogy on the management of the banks of Massachusetts, that in this inauspicious season, their credit did not sink, and that they were not induced for a moment to harbor the thought of refusing to redeem their bills. Of one, it was indeed for a short time apprehended, that its crisis was near. Its credit wavered, and perhaps would have irretrievably fallen, but for the timely and generous relief afforded by its neighbors. The directors of that bank in their public zeal had speculated too largely in the paper of Government; and it is said to have been the clemency of their rivals, which saved them from proving unjust to the holders of their bills.

The banks, south of New-England, refused to redeem their paper, but claimed to be considered as ultimately desirous and able to do so. This was a very inconvenient and disastrous state of things; but the commercial world was still secure, for it stood under a higher protection than that of the vicissitudes in trade. The evil contained its final remedy within itself. The country shielded the creditor against a loss from the depreciated currency; and payment of previous contracts could be demanded without defalcation. Such contracts were in fact subjects of mutual compromise between the parties; the

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law wholly sustained the creditor, and to his humanity or prudence only, could the appeal of the debtor be made. All changes in contracts were the result of new and voluntary contracts. The legal currency remained the standard of value; that standard did not fluctuate; and the influence of its fixedness was never more extensive or more salutary. The bills of doubtful credit were compared with it, and their value ascertained. They became a merchantable commodity, which was often purchased with the legal coin; they were daily sold at a discount, which was regularly announced in the prints; *they were even sold at public auction*, and knocked off to the highest bidder, who offered a price—in what? In what but the unvarying standard, the legal currency of the country.

The prices of merchandise and exchange necessarily corresponded to the depreciation. Teas, coffee, and all kinds of articles of commerce in New-York, had but one real value; yet that value was differently expressed, accordingly as payments were to be made in silver or New-York bills. When the depreciation was twenty per cent., eighty dollars of silver would buy and did buy, all that could be procured for one hundred dollars in the depreciated paper. If the seller hesitated to perceive this, the buyer proceeded first to the brokers with his silver and bought bank bills at the discount. The note, which pretended to be one dollar, was in fact but eighty cents; and so it was universally understood. A New-York dollar bill was no more worth a dollar in Wall-street than on the Boston exchange.

Thus far, there was trouble but no necessary injustice; confusion, but no sanctioned wrong. There were shallows enough, which required a sharp look out, but business could still keep its channel.

Unfortunately the Government, urged by its necessities, believed itself compelled to receive the depreciated bills without discount, not in its loans only, but also in payment of taxes and duties. Where it could not obtain the legal currency, it accepted the discredited paper. It hoisted as a sign on its custom-houses and on the offices of its tax-gatherers, *bills of broken banks received here;* and is it strange that the bills multiplied? It sent the crier into the cities to shout at the corners of the streets and in the ears of the money-changers, *depreciated paper borrowed by the Government at par value;* and then, indeed, a premium was set upon depreciation; then, indeed, it

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became the interest of cities to vie with each other in debasing their local currency. Had the Government consented to receive depreciated bills at their market value only, no '*rivalry in the abominable career of depreciation would have sprung up;*' and no injustice would have been done to citizens or cities. In the great commerce of the country, they circulated only at that value; it was only at that value, that the Government itself paid them away to agents and contractors. That the wants of the Government compelled it to submit to such a wrong, was a grievous calamity to the country; far worse than if good currency had been at once borrowed at a heavier rate. Had the treasury never received the depreciated currency but at its fair value, the country would not have bled from the severe wounds, which were inflicted on public justice. As it was, a wrong was done to every city, where the currency was better than the lowest rate; and the deepest wrong was done to the very towns which had the highest claims to preference, for having preserved the integrity of their mercantile credit and the obligations of their capitalists and bankers sacred and unimpaired. But the voice of equity was not heard in the general din, consequent on the deranged state of the public finances. Ships, if laden with cargoes, were driven as by a spell to one favored port; the mercantile wealth of the country anchored at its wharves, and its streets were full of the hum of a business, not rightfully its own. The practical favoritism of the Government transferred the warehouses of the Boston and Charleston merchants to the wharves of Baltimore, and though every individual could protect himself and did protect himself against the depreciation of paper, yet there was no redress against the injustice of the Government. Different rates of duties were virtually exacted in different parts of the Union. Till treasury notes fell, Boston paid the highest. This in itself was a wrong. But further; the amount of business in Boston was naturally diminished, for merchant vessels sailed for the port where the costs were the least. Thus the possession of solid capital, which should have put Boston on vantage ground, operated so far to its injury; and the very circumstance which should have attracted trade, exerted only the attraction of repulsion.

Congress was under the most solemn constitutional obligations to redress this evil, not by legislative enactments, for it already stood embodied in the fundamental law of the land,

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that gold and silver were alone lawful tender in the United States; but by a simple resolve, that it would enforce its own rights, do as the rest of the world did, and receive no depreciated paper at all, or only at its market value. It should have sternly refused to allow a premium to be set on the career of depreciation, should have collected the revenues with absolute, even justice; should have disdained to tempt the honesty of merchants, by transferring to those who had a doubtful capital, the business and the profits which rightfully belonged to those who possessed a real one. No doubt, Congress should have done its part, by enforcing the collection of duties and taxes in specie or its full equivalent, by requiring bills of doubtful credit either to be refused altogether, or accepted only at their market value, the value at which the Government would be able to circulate them. A bank of the United States was no doubt an appropriate auxiliary in effecting the desired end; but its influence would have been precisely where the influence of the banks of Massachusetts was, its bills would have held to the bills of the local banks the same relation as was held by specie and Boston paper, unless another measure had likewise been adopted. It is absurd to suppose, that the mere incorporation of the Bank of the United States would of itself have restored the currency; had a branch existed at Baltimore, its bills, if redeemable and redeemed at demand, would have been to those of other banks, just what specie was. Men will not pay their dues to the Government in solid coin, or convertible paper, so long as depreciated paper, worth but four fifths of its nominal value, is received at the custom-house at par.

2. Having thus illustrated the manner, in which the banks of a large portion of the country were reduced to the extremity of suspending specie payments, it remains to show the causes, which restored the local currencies to a sound condition. And the chief cause lay in the restoration of the credit of the Government, which ensued on the peace. That restoration of public credit operated on the banks in two ways. In the first place, it enabled them to make a good disposition of the Government notes and public stock, for which many of their issues had been made; and next, it enabled the Government to exact its dues with rigor. Whilst the public credit wavered, and the treasury stood in absolute need of money at whatever rate of interest, a rigorous enforcement

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of public rights was nearly impossible. But with the restoration of peace came the restoration of order; and *the resolve of Congress*, requiring all duties, taxes, debts, or sums of money, accruing or becoming payable to the United States, to be paid *in the legal currency of the United States*, and forbidding the receiving of the notes of any *banks, which were not payable, and paid on demand in the said legal currency of the United States*,* put an end to the injustice which had been practised, removed all inducements to maintain a depreciated currency, and led the way rapidly to the resumption of specie payments. But for this resolve, the establishment of a National Bank would have been wholly without efficacy.

This was the measure to which Mr. Madison alludes in the passage extracted in the report; and in the execution of this measure, the United States' Bank was an '*important auxiliary*.' It was not 'the means;' for those means lay in the right of the Congress to exact the sums due to Government, a right derived from the Constitution, and sustained by the courts of the United States. It was not in any right sense 'the means,' for it had no control whatever over the treasury department or the custom-house officers. It was a corporate body, which had purchased, in the words of their charter, an exclusive privilege, but the laws, the courts, the legal currency, and the right of Government remained just where they were. No new law was dreamt of as requisite to the maintenance of the rights of Government; they were all provided for; nothing was done by Congress but to express an opinion, to declare their sense of the duty of the treasury department, to resolve that no sums *ought to be collected or received* otherwise than in the legal currency of the United States or its full equivalent.

Thus then it was the Federal Treasury that compelled the resumption of specie payments. The United States' Bank had no more to do with it, than an agent who is employed to collect a debt. It was the Government, and not the bank, which applied the remedy. Is our statement doubted? It shall be confirmed in the identical words of Mr. Mc Duffie himself. He says, and in connexion with this very subject, 'the enforcing upon the State banks the payment of specie for any excess in their issues,'—which, by the way, is one of the

* Laws of the United States; Story's Edition, p. 1616.

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best things in the practical operation of the bank,—Mr. Mc Duffie on this subject himself says, that in that respect, '*the operations of the Federal Treasury are mistaken for the operations of the bank, because the bank is the agent by whom those operations are performed.*' That is exactly the view we contend for; we are glad to find it, after all, confirmed by the Chairman himself. We could not wish the true doctrine more explicitly stated. The bank is the agent; the salutary check is the operation of the Federal Treasury.

3. The United States' Bank is intrusted with no special powers to regulate the currency, and from the nature of things, it can be intrusted with no such powers.

We might here insist, that if the bank were possessed of such power, it would but be exercised by bank directors, wholly above the control of Congress so long as they do not violate their charter; that, therefore, if Congress has assigned to them the regulation of the currency, it has committed a grievous error, in assigning to a few individuals, what Mr. Mc Duffie represents as so substantive a portion of public sovereignty.

We might further say, as it respects the choice of means, that to establish a new bank in order to check the old, was but running a new risk; that a bank with a very large capital is just as liable to be mismanaged as one with a small capital; and that when you had set the National Bank to control the local ones, you next needed something to control the National. The local banks were indeed checks on each other; but where is the check to the National Bank?

We might further repeat what we have already said, that the establishment of a National Bank would of itself have been ineffectual, unless the Government had adopted another measure.

We might further say, that to call the establishment of the United States' Bank the *only safe and effectual* means, when no other had been tried, and when *another idea of considerable plausibility*, by Mr. Mc Duffie's own confession, is passed over '*without stopping to give reasons*,' that under such circumstances to call the establishment of the bank the *only means*, is a gratuitous assumption.

We will not insist on the considerations to which we have alluded. But we say, the Congress of the United States has no concern whatever with the local currency. It is its duty to

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provide, that the sums paid to the United States shall be paid in the '*legal currency, or its full equivalent;*' and that is all which the United States can do in regulating what Mr. Mc Duffie calls the common currency. So much it did in its proper legislative capacity, by the resolve in the spring of 1816; and in doing that, it did every thing which was required. It has invested the United States' Bank on this subject with no powers, which do not equally belong to every citizen of the country. There exist no means of redress but those which are common to every capitalist, merchant, and day laborer in the country. If a bank refuse to redeem its bills, the United States' Bank has precisely the same resource which a citizen of any neighboring State would have, and justice will be rendered in the one case as in the other, not under any special act of the Government with particular reference to the protection of the National Bank, but on previous well established principles of justice, and on the doctrines of the Constitution.

Any other course on the part of the General Government would be a flagrant and absurd attempt at improper legislation. The Constitution makes the acceptance of bank bills purely voluntary; were Congress to attempt to regulate their value, it would be to attempt to settle the price-current which fluctuates hourly by remote and infrequent legislation; to transfer to Congress the office and duties of brokers, money-changers, and inspectors; to appoint the great legislators of the nation to measure the credit and the trustworthiness of every banking-house in near or remote parts of the Union. The thing is impossible.

It is rightly assumed as the basis of all sound reasoning, that the existence of a paper currency, issued by local banks, cannot be prohibited by the General Government. For in this, the States do not assume the exercise of any unreasonable power. The simple act of incorporation does not protect or retain in circulation the bills issued by the bank. The State does not pledge itself to receive its dues in the notes of its own banks; nor are they able compulsorily to pay their expenditures in such notes. The State laws recognise nothing but specie as legal currency; and should a legislature, blinded by temporary distress, be induced to enact tender-laws and relief-laws, there exists an authority, by which those laws shall be set aside. The trade in money is as proper a branch of business, as the trade in any thing else, and should be left, with similar con-

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cerns, to the jurisdiction of the several States, under the guarantees of the Federal Union.

But, says Mr. Mc Duffie, it would be utterly impossible to produce so entire a change in the '*monetary system of the country,*' as to abolish the agency of banks of discount, without distressing embarrassments. '*Monetary system*' of the country! As though issuing bank bills were a process of the mint! *Monetary system of the country!* We have our assurance of the convertibility of good bank bills, solely, because the *monetary system* of the country is elevated high above the reach of the debtor, high above the reach of the bank, which is the creditor; nay more, high above the reach of the State legislature, that established the bank; and is fixed solely and firmly on the unchanging basis of the Constitution, safe against the misapprehensions of political innovators, firm amidst the revolutions of ingenious theories, and protected from the partial influences of commercial fluctuations.

4. Our last assertion in reference to the influence of the United States' Bank on the local currency, is, that the United States' Bank does not in point of fact preserve its soundness. The excellence of the common currency is attributable to other causes.

Of itself, the National Bank has no influence at all, except as a competitor, and so far this bank exercises in its degree an influence, similar to that exercised by all other sound monied institutions.

The exercise of that influence is limited to a very few banks, and those the strongest and best in the community. What has the National corporation to do with all the small institutions of the country? What influence and supervision has it over the banks of Massachusetts, except those in Boston? If the States at this time were to be filled with companies, possessing no capital, would it be the United States' Bank that would overthrow them, or the force of circumstances, too powerful and sure in their operation to be controlled?

Wherever the Government funds are collected and so require to be transferred, there the organ of the Government will necessarily draw largely on the local banks, which will thus be restrained in their discounts and issues. But this would be the case even without a National Bank. The effect of that institution is, we are told, 'to mitigate the action of the treasury on the State banks.' So then, the discount of the State

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banks would require to be still further curtailed, if the National Bank did not exist. The influence on the State banks is, therefore, the action of the Government; and to that the benefit and the pressure, the check, whether salutary or grievous, must rightfully be ascribed.

Two causes lead to a derangement in the local currency; a mismanagement of a bank, and a want of real capital. The first is the effect of ignorance; the second of dishonesty. The first the United States' Bank cannot remedy; if men will engage in a business, which they do not understand, they will learn penitence from their losses. Assuredly the United States' Bank cannot undertake the instruction and discipline of all the local banks in the country. The second evil, the establishment of a banking corporation without the existence of a substantial capital, is the result of unwise legislation. Assuredly the United States' Bank will not claim a veto in the proceedings of State legislatures. If Massachusetts or Kentucky, South Carolina or Illinois should see fit to establish banking corporations without capital, the United States' Bank, like the country banks, has no resource but in the operation of the unchangeable laws, which make capital essential to a continuance of credit. The relief would finally be sought and awarded in the halls of public justice. The United States' Bank did not sustain and was not bound to sustain, did not overthrow and was not bound to overthrow, the bank of Niagara, or the Eagle bank of New-Haven, or the Farmers' and Mechanics' bank of Belchertown; but the regular process of free competition, the suspicious shrewdness of those who held their paper, the runs made from motives of malice, or fear, or prudence, or right; the self-restraining principle, which renders it more costly than productive to attempt an excessive issue, and which, by making those issues always attended with a loss, leaves to banking companies no ultimate option but moderation or bankruptcy.

The facts being as we state, it is hardly requisite to add, that the supervision of the United States' Bank would be a course singularly unsuitable to attain the desired end, far less adapted to do so, than the method appointed by nature. The curious observer may often perceive attached to a water-wheel in New-England, which exults in its rapid and perennial streams, a simple contrivance called the regulator, that, of itself unnoticed, silently but surely controls the quantity of wa-

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ter, that shall pass upon the works. No matter what the quantity in the reservoir may be, this little instrument restrains the impetuous rush with precision, and, what is the main point, with unremitting and unvarying constancy. How would you substitute for such a contrivance the occasional visits of the overseer, absolute dictator though he may be? Would you attempt to graduate precisely the cubic inches that may flow, and the frequency with which the wheel may revolve by means of an agent, who shall stand and watch? Would you substitute the chance of vigilance and inspection for the little contrivance, which moves as the water issues, and rises and falls instantly as the wheel revolves too fast or too slow? Will you tell our manufacturers that Congress does not choose that they should employ this simple, and natural, and self-conservative principle, but appoints for them a general agent, to inspect the daily, hourly, momentary flow of the ever-running streams? And yet you propose something of this very sort with reference to the flow of the currency, to the ever-changing transfers of coin and of credit. The nature of business immediately throws back the redundant issues upon the bank, which has been in fault. In the city of New-York this business is so regularly and constantly adjusted, that in the balance of accounts, we are told, the pressure, if any exist, surely falls within twenty-four hours on the bank, which has passed the limits of moderation; nay, not a bank in New-England can keep a bill in circulation a week, we might say three days, without being compelled to redeem it, unless that bill has passed into the operations which it was rightfully designed to facilitate. From the remotest corner of Maine, or Vermont, or Connecticut, it travels fast as stage-coaches can carry it, and the bank which issued it will have redeemed it long before any benefit can have been derived from the issue. Is not this better than any grand monitorial system, than any plan of a head-master, who may or may not sleep at his post? Our banks *are regulated* by a process as certain and as constant in its operation as that, by which water flows. There is a law of necessity in the moral as well as in the physical world, and the exchange and the money mart are not established by chance legislation, or regulated by dictatorial overseers, but by the immutable principles of competition and liberty.

The merits of the Bank of the United States in equalizing the rates of domestic exchange are so plain and so decided,

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that they stand in need of nothing but a simple statement to give them efficacy with the public. The buyers and sellers of bills used formerly to fluctuate in number; and there was a variation in the eagerness to purchase. The bank is now at all times able to discount and to sell; and while it steadily pursues its own interests, confers a great benefit on the community. Its profits, on a small amount inconsiderable, but in the aggregate immense, are most fairly earned. A bill may sometimes, perhaps ordinarily, be purchased of a broker for a fraction less than the premium demanded by the bank; but then the credit of the bank surpasses that of any private house, and of course the use of that high credit should be paid for. In this way, the national institution is obtaining almost a monopoly of the very profitable business of domestic and in some measure of foreign exchange. This may be a slight detriment to the local banks, which formerly engaged in the same business; but the mercantile community is decidedly a gainer both in the diminished rates of exchange and in the security against sudden fluctuations.

We cannot but think, that Mr. Mc Duffie has weakened one of the strongest points in his argument by unnecessary and very great exaggeration. He estimates the extent of the operations of commercial exchange at sixty millions of dollars, and adds, 'upon this sum the loss sustained by the merchants, and planters, and farmers, and manufacturers, was not probably less than an average of ten per cent., being the excess of the rate of exchange beyond its natural rate in a sound state of the currency, and beyond the rate to which it has been actually reduced by the operations of the Bank of the United States.'*

Here we have a statement, that brokers obtained on an average ten per cent. beyond the fair profits of business, and levied an annual tax of six millions of dollars on the productive classes of society. On the face of it this is improbable; such enormous gains would have crowded the profession of brokers, till competition had reduced the profits to their natural state.

But the brokers levied no such annual tax; and from the nature of things could not do so. The merchant lost nothing. Had the rates of exchange been in reality so iniquitously unfavorable, he would have made his remittances in merchandise. Indeed, this was often done, but the results did not essentially

* Report—page 11.

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vary; for the prices of goods, as measured in the depreciated local currency, rose with the depreciation of the local currency. If a bill on Boston was at eight per cent. advance, it would also have bought in the market from six to eight per cent. more produce, than a bill of a Charleston bank. One hundred dollars of Boston paper were in truth equal to one hundred and six or eight of Charleston paper.

For the same reason the planter lost nothing. If the bills of his vicinity depreciated, the prices as paid in those bills rose. If afterwards he had to give more than an equal amount of those bills for a bill of exchange, it was but just. The apparent gain in the nominal high price of his produce was balanced by the apparent loss in the nominal high price of Boston bills. Boston bills were convertible, and were therefore equal to the *legal currency* of the country. Had business been transacted in the legal currency, there would have been no room for misconception.

Or was exchange on Boston* in July, 1816, at a premium of seven per cent. at New-York, of eight at Charleston, and of eighteen at Philadelphia? The highest possible rate of exchange is equal to the cost of transportation and insurance. Did it cost seven per cent. to send money from New-York to Boston, and eleven per cent. more to send it from Philadelphia to New-York, and only eight to send it from Charleston to Boston?

Let us consider, for example, the rate of exchange between Boston and Philadelphia on July 1, 1816. The same reasoning will apply to Boston and Charleston. It was currently said, that exchange in Philadelphia was eighteen per cent. in favor of Boston. This is obviously a confounding of two different items. Between specie dollar and specie dollar, exchange was at par, or very nearly so, not varying more than one per cent. Now the Boston bill was convertible, and in Boston equal in every respect to specie. The Philadelphia bill was not convertible, and was in Chesnut street itself worth in silver but eighty-three dollars for a hundred. In Boston those same bills were, as appears from Mr. Mc Duffie's appendix, worth from eighty-two to eighty-three dollars. Exchange was therefore at a rate varying from par to about one per cent.

Or will you insist on saying, that exchange in Boston on Phila-

* See Appendix No. 1, annexed to the report—page 32.

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delphia was at a discount of from seventeen to eighteen per cent.? You must then further say, that exchange in Philadelphia on Philadelphia was at a discount of seventeen per cent. The truth is, the depreciation of the Philadelphia bills was confounded with the profits of the broker. Specie against specie, convertible paper against convertible paper, the rate of exchange on July 1, 1816, was nearly at par. A Philadelphia bill was worth on the Boston exchange, just about as much as it was worth in Chesnut street.

What then becomes of the average loss of ten per cent. beyond the natural rates of exchange? Where is the annual tax of six millions levied by the brokers?

We could not exchange our Boston wagon for a Philadelphia wagon, for ours was in sound repair; that of Philadelphia had no wheels. In ours, we could carry our goods to any market without further cost; but we could not in theirs, till we had got it mended. To be sure, the manufacturers of both had each warranted the soundness of his work. Ours made his warrant good; but theirs, though repeatedly urged to keep his word, refused and sent us away with an unsatisfactory promise of doing something when he should be less engaged. So we were obliged to go to another workman, who charged us heavily for putting on new wheels. Wagon against wagon in good condition, we would have exchanged even.

The third point under which merit is claimed for the bank relates to the facilities, which it affords the Government in time of peace, and those which it might afford in time of war.

A National Bank undoubtedly furnishes great advantages in the collection and disbursement of the revenue of the country. It serves as an agent, and is in an eminent degree a safe and responsible one, because its whole capital is pledged for the fidelity of each and all its branches.

Again; in a Government like ours, where the great officers of the nation are constantly changing, where the executive is renewed once in four years, and the heads of departments sometimes still oftener, it is eminently desirable, that the machinery for collecting the revenue should not require frequent alterations. The duties of a station, like that of the Secretary of the Treasury, are of themselves sufficiently arduous, without the necessity of providing for the details of collection.

It is also to be remembered, that the collecting and transferring of money, constitute a profession, which can hardly be well

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exercised except by those, who have been trained to the business. Hence the evident propriety of employing banks to receive the deposits and make the transfers of money.

Here then is a plain and positive advantage derived from the bank in respect to the revenues of the country. Mr. Mc Duffie declares all this good to be effected without cost, and we have accordingly an appendix, giving a list of apparently gratuitous transfers. That the transfers have been promptly made is undoubted; that they have been made without cost to the Government is an error. The price paid for the service was originally *an exclusive privilege;* next, the bank derives a great benefit from the Government deposits; and, lastly, the Government agrees in return, to receive the bills of any branch of the bank whatever at par; thus lending the company the benefit of the national credit to the whole amount of the receipts of the Federal Treasury. We believe that any banker would declare the contract a very favorable one for the United States' Bank; and it is generally supposed to have proved so. To say that the bank annually saves to the country more money than the cost of the army and the navy, seems to us a preposterous assertion. The Government pays, and ought to pay, a full equivalent for the benefit received.

But in case of a war, the bank, it is said, will save us from the 'miserable round of financial expedients,' to which Mr. Madison's administration was driven. Now of all miserable expedients to trust in for the support of the public credit, a National Bank is the most miserable. We have only to look at the nature of the case itself, or to throw open the pages of history, to see that as a private bank cannot create funds for one who has no credit, so a National Bank cannot sustain a government in the same circumstances. The Government may sustain a bank; but no bank can sustain the Government.

Mr. Mc Duffie attempts to show,* that the Government sustained a loss in less than three years of forty-six millions of dollars; thirty-four millions of which, '*resulting incontestibly and exclusively* from the depreciation of the currency,' would according to his reasonings have certainly been saved, and the 'other twelve millions would in all probability have been saved, if the treasury had been aided by such an institution as the Bank of the United States.' This statement fills us, we confess,

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with surprise. It asserts, that a bank with a capital of thirty-five millions could have saved to the Government, or (had it chosen to take advantage of its powers) could have secured to itself beyond its fair profits, a sum of forty-six millions within three years—could have gained (for itself or for Government) in less than three years, one hundred and thirty-one per cent. upon its capital. Doubtless, if it could have made such a gain or such a saving, the whole would have been for the benefit of Government! Doubtless, not a million nor a fraction of a million would have been retained on the way! As though during the same period we had not had an example of the operation of National Banks on the other side of the water. The credit of the British Government was the greatest ever known in the world; yet that Government with its National Bank of a larger capital, had to sustain a similar loss on the depreciation of its paper currency. It borrowed in depreciated paper, and it acknowledges its obligation to pay in gold.

If we contrast our currency with the English during the war, that of the nation having a National Bank, with ours which had not, we shall find the balance entirely on our side. The English standard of value was deranged by law; ours never was. The English had a forced paper currency; we never had. The English creditor was obliged to receive his pay in a currency, which was not worth what it pretended to be, and which the wants of the English Government were continually reducing still lower; the American creditor never had cause to charge iniquity upon the law, and the American Government itself set the example of justice, by paying what it owed without defalcation. The English land-holder, who told his tenants that he should receive of them bank bills only at their market rates, was prevented by an act of Parliament; but in America no man's liberty was curtailed, and the rights of the creditor retained their integrity unimpaired.

The losses sustained during the war by our Government were very severe; but the Chairman is hardly correct, when he makes them amount to forty-six millions on eighty millions.* Forty-six from eighty leave but thirty-four. Now in the wildest party times, the greatest clamorer against the war never charged upon the war administration such an utter subversion of the credit of the Government, as is implied in

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this statement. Such assertions tend chiefly to throw unmerited discredit on the administration of that time. Mr. Mc Duffie probably takes into consideration the present advance of the public stocks as well as the former depreciation. But surely it is absurd to count the present high credit of the Government as a loss!

Whilst on this subject, it will be proper to quote a passage which merits but a short rejoinder.

'While, then, the Government sustained this great pecuniary loss in less than three years of war, amounting annually to more than the current expenses of the Government in time of peace, it is worth while to inquire, who were the persons who profited to this enormous amount by the derangement of the currency? It will be found that the whole benefit of this speculation upon the necessities of the Government was realized by stock-jobbers and money-brokers, the very same class of persons, who profited so largely by the business of commercial exchanges, in consequence of the disorders of the currency, and who have the same interest in the recurrence of those disorders as lawyers have in litigation, or physicians in the diseases of the human frame.' pp. 12, 13.

Does Mr. Mc Duffie himself distrust the force of his reasoning, that he descends from arguments to imputations, and attempts to cast odium on a whole class of men of business, as having speculated upon the public distress? For ourselves, we shall not retort by the use of various popular topics, which might turn the current of feeling in another direction. Where the discovery and establishment of truth are steadily pursued, it is a plain duty to avoid every thing which can divert attention from facts to prejudices.

The money-broker was but the agent for borrowing money. You might as well blame your recruiting officers for the high bounty which candidates for the army required before enlisting, as blame your broker.

The stock-jobber buys not to hold, but to sell; and he can but give such a price, as the rates at which he can sell, will justify.

These same brokers and jobbers were caressed in those days; they were considered as excellent citizens and very valuable upholders of the Government. The greatest misfortune was, that there were not more of them. The capitalists, who refused to loan to the Government, and declined all participation in these speculations on the public distresses, were alone considered unpatriotic. Or will Mr. Mc Duffie regard

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it as an honor in many of the federal party, that they, deeming the war 'unjust and wicked,' as the phrase was, refused to sustain it by any participation in the loans? This reluctance is still fresh in the public memory; and it is surely unreasonable to find fault alike with those who loaned, and those who did not.

If it be asked, why the credit of the Government sunk so low, while the patriotism of the nation was but tried, exalted, and purified, and the Union confirmed by the struggle, the answer is an obvious one. The Government really needed more than the country could furnish. Our losses were incident to the heavy expenses of a war, suddenly declared by a nation, which was very rich in lands and industry, but not equally rich in money. Capital with us existed, and still exists, chiefly in small quantities. Men had confidence in the Government, but they had little money to spare. Each one needed all he could command for his own business. The borrowers were many, and the lenders, on whom it is idle to throw censure, were unfortunately too few.

Should a similar emergency recur, the same results would not take place; because our public finances and credit partake of the general advancement of the country. The experience of the past has led to a system of military preparations and defences, which would avert imminent danger. The solid capital of the country has also doubled since the war; the rates of interest and the value of money are diminished; and an equal demand on the part of the Government would be met by more than twice the quantity of money in the market. The United States' Bank cannot be expected to lend to the Federal Treasury; for by its charter, it is forbidden to do so in any considerable degree, without the authority of a special act of Congress.

The bank, then, could only facilitate the obtaining of loans from others. Those loans would be negotiated on the same evidence of credit, whether individuals or the bank performed the office of broker.

If it be merely meant, that the bank could most readily make the transfers, we would ask, whether in the last war, the difficulty lay in *transferring* money or in *borrowing* it?

Suppose, however, that a special act of Congress were to authorize large or unlimited loans to the Government on the part of the bank. Compliance would, probably, not be refused; but it would require one of two things. First; regular discount-

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ing must be suspended, and the capital of the bank be loaned to Government. This would put an end to all banking operations, for which the control of the capital is essential. Or, secondly; (and it is the course to which every National Bank in every large country on the face of the globe has ultimately been driven,) discounts to individuals would be continued as before; and thus the large loans to Government would compel the bank to stop specie payments. The bank having thus destroyed its own credit for the accommodation of Government, would appeal for its security to the power which had driven it into the difficulty; and that power could not but hold out the strong ægis of its protection to shield it.

It is not desirable, that an administration should be furnished with extraordinary facilities and consequent temptations for involving the country in debt. It should possess no resources but what it derives from the wisdom of its own measures, and the patriotism and confidence of the country. It should be provided with no extensive credit, which would be less suited to benefit a wise government, than to nourish the supineness of irresolution and increase the dangers to be apprehended from a want of forecast, a precipitate indiscretion, protracted preparation or vacillating purposes. An increase of credit to the national authorities, beyond the resources which they find within themselves, is not desirable. Neither do we believe it virtually possible. Should the credit of the General Government, instead of remaining self-sustained, lose its balance and reel on its strong foundations, the support of the United States' Bank, the creature of that Government, a corporation existing under its acts, could not sustain the tottering fabric or avert the threatened fall. It is the credit of the administration, which must open the coffers of the wealthy; it is that credit, which must give efficacy to the patriotism of the strong and the brave. The vessel of state, when the storm is high and the waves roll in unimpeded fury, must be held fast at its moorings, not by favors, purchased or begged from a privileged company, but by the decided will and united energy of the nation. Who would wish that it should be otherwise?

We have thus endeavored to show the errors in theory and in history, consequent on a failure to distinguish between coin and bank bills, the standard of value and the common currency, the sovereign exclusive right of stamping metals for money, and the system of banks as it has grown up in the Union. The ex-

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pediency of renewing the charter of the present National Bank has not been brought into discussion. On this question our opinion is decidedly in the affirmative; and we propose in a future paper to assign the reasons which lead us to that conclusion.

ART. III.—*Address to the Community on the Necessity of legalizing the Study of Anatomy. By order of the Massachusetts Medical Society.* Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 1829.

The age in which we live is pre-eminently distinguished by its zeal for the advancement of human knowledge. Every day furnishes new proof of this, in the publications that are sent forth, and the facilities that are devised to promote this great object. Our own country partakes deeply of this spirit, and everywhere throughout our extended regions, vast efforts are making to diffuse the means of education and improvement among all classes of society.

We had hoped, that with the general advance of knowledge, more liberal views would have prevailed in relation to the science of Anatomy; that this study would no longer be proscribed, nor its students compelled to pursue it in defiance of the law of the land. It is hardly credible, that in our own Commonwealth, which has certainly ever taken a deep interest in the cause of good learning, it should have been thought necessary to endeavor to prevent the practice of dissection. Yet it is true, that within a few years our legislators have passed an act, which inflicts a severe punishment, not only on those who violate the sepulchres of the dead, but also on those, in whose possession any body which has been disinterred may be found, giving the court a power to imprison such persons or fine them 'not more than one thousand dollars.' And this law is passed, as if to make the thing more objectionable, at a time when it is well known that heavy damages may be obtained in any court of law from practitioners of medicine in cases of mistake or error arising from ignorance of anatomy. Will it be believed too, that recently, when some attempt was made in our Legislature to mitigate the severity of the law, the proposition was hardly listened to with decency, members seemed anxious to outdo each other in expressions of abhorrence, and the bill was not even allowed a second reading?

Undignified, to use no harsher term, as these proceedings certainly were, they did much to aid the object they were in-

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tended to frustrate. They called the attention of those to the subject, who were best qualified by their pursuits and occupations, to enlighten the public mind. At the first meeting of the Counsellors of the Massachusetts Medical Society after the occurrence in the Legislature above alluded to, it was voted, that a committee be appointed to prepare a petition to the Legislature 'to modify the existing laws which now operate to prohibit the procuring of subjects for anatomical dissection, and to report the same for the consideration of the Society at their annual meeting in June.' This vote was passed in February, 1829.

At the meeting of the Society in June following, which was fully attended by physicians from all parts of the Commonwealth, the committee reported, that though they had prepared a petition in conformity with their instructions, it was not expedient in their opinion to offer it at present; but they recommended that the subject be referred to a large committee, whose object should be to prepare the public mind for the adoption of such measures, as the wants of science and humanity imperiously demanded. In the discussion which took place on this occasion, it was urged on all sides that the time had arrived, when it had become necessary for medical men to speak plainly on the subject, and to throw aside the caution and reserve which they had hitherto maintained in relation to the importance of dissection.

A committee of nine was then unanimously chosen, with directions to report to the Counsellors in October. This committee without delay issued a circular letter to the Fellows of the Society, pointing out the topics on which they intended to urge their views, and asking for any information or suggestions that might aid them in advancing the objects proposed. At the Counsellors' meeting in October, they were requested to continue their attention to the subject, and at the same time were authorized to make expenditures to a certain limited amount. In consequence of this, they published the address, the title of which is prefixed to this article. It was widely circulated in its original form, and having been copied into many of the newspapers of the day, it has gone into almost every family in our community, and has been extensively read. It is unnecessary therefore for us to make any extracts from it. It is a plain, unpretending and judicious appeal to the common sense of its readers, and abounds with facts and statements, within

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the comprehension of all, which place in a strong light the necessity of anatomical knowledge. It has made a deep impression on the thinking part of society, and with the other means that have been employed, it has for the time wrought a marvellous change in public opinion.

Shortly after its publication, a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives moved, that the committee on the Judiciary be instructed 'to inquire whether it is expedient to make any further provision by law for protecting the sepulchres of the dead,' and in consequence of this, the committee, in February, 1830, made a very full and satisfactory report; stating the inconveniences under which medical men now labor with respect to the acquisition of anatomical knowledge, its vast importance to society, and the necessity of adopting some measures to legalize dissection. Though no definite plan was recommended, the whole tone of the report was liberal, and showed that a great change in public sentiment must have been produced on this subject within a year.

Some idea of the extent of this change may be formed from the fact, that in the winter of 1829, the proposition to mitigate the severity of the law against those who were engaged in dissection, was driven almost by acclamation from the Legislature; and in June, 1830, the Governor, with an honorable independence that has marked the whole course of his administration, in his message to the two Houses, brought the subject before them in a very forcible manner, and that part of his message was referred to a joint committee of the Senate and House.

A few days after this, the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society took place, when resolutions were adopted, in which the course taken by the Governor was noticed with great respect, and the Counsellors were instructed 'to adopt such measures as they may deem proper and expedient to accomplish the wishes of the Society.' In consequence of these resolutions, a new committee was appointed by the Council, with full power to act in behalf of the Society, and a further expenditure was authorized, if deemed necessary, to aid the object. And this is the present state of the business.

We have been thus particular in our account of the proceedings that have been adopted in relation to this affair, because we deem them honorable to all parties; highly so to those who have been instrumental in calling the public attention to the

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subject, and not less so to the community, who have shown a disposition to examine with impartiality a subject, which is so often viewed with jealousy and distrust. We have taken pleasure too in recounting what has been done, because it augurs so well for the future. It shows how much may be accomplished by the united efforts of a few, when ardently engaged in the promotion of a praiseworthy object, and that the most deeply rooted prejudices will yield, when assailed by no other weapons than those of truth. The change in public sentiment, with regard to dissection, is indeed encouraging, and if similar efforts are perseveringly made, we have a right to hope, that every thing will soon be accomplished, that the friends of science and humanity could wish.

It is conceded now, we believe, on all hands, that a knowledge of anatomy, such as can only be obtained by dissection, is essential to the education of every physician as well as surgeon; we mean every one who hopes to practise his profession with comfort to himself, and with safety and advantage to his patients. To those who are conversant with the subject, it is well known, that more and greater improvements have been made in surgery in the last half century, than in any two centuries that preceded it, and we hazard nothing in saying, that these may all be traced to the minute and thorough acquaintance with anatomy possessed by those who made them. We will for a moment call the attention of our readers to one topic, calculated in our opinion to illustrate our remarks. We allude to the disease known by the name of aneurism. This consists in an enlargement or rupture of one or more of the coats of an artery, which is the name of the vessels, through which the blood is conveyed from the heart to the various parts of the body. A pulsating tumor appears in the course of one of these vessels, producing great disturbance oftentimes in the circulating system, and steadily increasing in size. If nothing be done to remove it, a sudden rupture takes place, and if the vessel be an important one, the patient instantly dies. In former times, when the disease appeared in the extremities, the only certain mode of relief consisted in amputating the limb; but the tumor was often too high up, or it appeared in the neck, or in some other part, where no such operation could be performed. In these cases therefore the miserable victim was left to his fate, anxiously dreading the moment, which he knew must soon arrive and instantly terminate his existence. How

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different is the case at the present day! A patient presents himself to a surgeon with a large, pulsating tumor at the angle of the jaw; he complains of the great distress which it produces, the vertigo and other affections of the brain, and describes it as increasing daily, perhaps with rapidity, and bringing with its growth an increase of suffering. He is told that he may be relieved, probably cured, by an operation of a very delicate nature, but safe in skilful hands, and attended with but little severe suffering. He submits. An incision is made in the neck, the artery is laid bare below the tumor, a string is passed around it and tightly tied, and the supply of blood being thus cut off from the tumor, its growth is instantly stopped, absorption soon takes place, and a radical cure is effected. Now this operation,—one of the greatest triumphs of modern science,—could never have been devised, and successfully performed, without long, laborious and minute dissection. It was in the first place to be ascertained, how those parts were to be nourished, which were supplied with blood by the vessel that was to be tied; and having ascertained this, the operator was next to prepare himself for the operation, by repeatedly and carefully dissecting every thing that has any immediate relation with the point on which he was to operate; for there is but a hair's-breadth between the vessel he wishes to tie and other parts, which if tied or wounded would produce instant death.

It may perhaps be said that we are now acquainted with the fact, that a vessel may be tied without producing the death of the parts which it furnishes with blood, and therefore that there is no further occasion for dissection on this account. This is true, but this fact never could have been ascertained without dissection in the first instance, nor without it can we with safety perform the operation now.

But there are other points of nearly, perhaps quite, equal importance that remain to be ascertained, and which never can be ascertained without actual dissection. We refer particularly to the functions of the nerves and the agents of absorption. The light shed upon the former by the labors of Mr. Charles Bell is in the highest degree encouraging, and it may be confidently hoped that discoveries, not only valuable in physiology, but tending to the alleviation of human suffering, may ere long be made.

We think it unnecessary, however, to press these topics, though we might easily multiply illustrations from the practice

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of medicine as well as that of surgery, quite as forcible as the one we have given; but we deem it superfluous, and shall consider it as admitted, that anatomical knowledge is essential for medical men, and proceed to inquire how they are to be furnished with the means of acquiring this knowledge.

The subject is an embarrassing one, and while we feel it to be our duty to urge the adoption of measures for the removal of the difficulties that stand in the way of dissection, we are at the same time aware, that this should be done with caution and a proper regard to popular prejudice. We have a great respect for the common feeling in relation to the dead; it is associated with some of the purest and best sentiments of our nature, and we trust that nothing will be done, that is calculated in the least degree to destroy or impair it. But no one will pretend, that the dead can be injured by dissection; reason and revelation forbid us to suppose it. It is in relation only to the survivors, that the question is to be considered. In any measure, therefore, that may be adopted, care should be taken that these be treated with a sacred regard, nor do we see any thing inconsistent with this, in the plan that has been suggested by the Medical Society.

There is no greater mistake, and none at the same time more common, than that physicians have a particular interest in this question; and hence it has often been said, that they are bound to set a good example, and direct that their bodies should be dissected after death. In fact, if we may credit the accounts contained in some of the foreign journals, not a few medical men in Dublin have so far yielded to this popular notion, as to agree that this disposition shall be made of their bodies at their decease. But medical men can derive no more advantage from an improved state of anatomical knowledge than the rest of the community; and, therefore, if it be a hardship, there would be no more reason why they should yield their bodies for dissection than any other individuals. There is, however, a stronger ground than this, and that is, the injury that would be done to the feelings of the living. We presume that there are few, if any physicians, who would object to having their bodies dissected after death; but they would be unwilling to have it known during their lives that this was to take place, as it might prove a source of great distress to their friends, and if it were not known, no benefit could be derived from the example. The body of no individual should be dis-

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sected, when the circumstance would give pain to any survivors. And this is one reason why the bodies of convicts should not, as a thing of course, be yielded up for dissection; many of them have friends, who have already suffered too much during their lives, without having their feelings lacerated at their death. Besides, it is desirable not to attach an odium to dissection, and make it appear as if it were a part of the punishment of the crime of the individual.

We are aware of the difficulty of adopting any course that will meet the wants of science, without coming in collision with the popular feeling. It is a subject of extreme delicacy, and should be approached with caution. Great allowance must be made for the almost instinctive horror which is entertained by nearly every individual in relation to dissection, and every thing should be studiously avoided that is calculated even remotely to increase this horror. Mankind are so excitable on this subject, that they suffer themselves to be governed rather by impulse than reason, and though this is to be lamented, the fact must not be overlooked.

The plan that seems to us to be the most unexceptionable, for there is none to which some objection may not be made, is to grant authority to the municipal officers of the towns and cities of the Commonwealth, to deliver up at their discretion to such regular practitioners of medicine and surgery, as may appear to them to be suitable persons, the bodies of such paupers, as may die and require interment at the public expense. This, however, shall in no instance be done, if any relative shall appear and request that the body may not be given up for dissection, or if any friend come forward and offer to defray the expenses of interment. We are aware that objections are made to this, and it is said, that the inevitable sufferings of the poor are sufficient already, and that we have no right to increase them by providing for the dissection of their bodies at their death; for it is presumed that the idea that this is to take place, would be a cause of great distress to most of them. In reply it may be urged, that in our country few will become so poor as to depend on the public bounty, who do not bring their poverty on themselves by their vices; and that we have as much right to dispose of their bodies at their decease, as we have to determine how they shall be provided for while living; as that, for example, they shall live in buildings of a particular description, be furnished with brown bread instead

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of white, and sleep on straw instead of feathers. Besides, it should be considered, that there are not many who are so friendless as to have no one who would appear to prevent the dissection of their bodies, if they should entertain any peculiar horror on the subject; and with regard to those who are so destitute of friends it is better, perhaps, that they should have a little mental suffering, than that the cause of knowledge and the best interests of mankind should be retarded.

We do not believe, however, that if the system proposed shall go into operation, it will be productive of much distress of mind to the inmates of our poor-houses or to the paupers that may be supported out of them. It is obvious that the bodies of all such persons would not be wanted at every season of the year, and for six months at least in each year, the business of dissection must be entirely suspended. No one, therefore, could feel certain that such a disposition was to be made of his body at death, and the very uncertainty would be sufficient to lessen the dread that he might otherwise entertain in relation to it. And in those cases, too, where there was a deep-rooted aversion to this disposition of the body, an application to the municipal authorities would no doubt in every instance be sufficient to prevent it. In France, a system somewhat similar though much more rigorous prevails; there, the bodies of all who die in the hospitals as well as the poor-houses, are sent to the public dissecting-rooms, unless individuals come forward and inter them at their own expense; and yet no inconvenience has been experienced from it in that country; individuals are found as ready to enter the various establishments for the relief of the sick and poor there as elsewhere.

We really think that there is a morbid sensibility on this point that ought not to stand in the way of a great public improvement. There are some who can feel very keenly for those who have a dread of dissection, but have no sympathy for another class of sufferers, who are laboring under diseases of the most agonizing kind, the cure of which can only be accomplished by an improved state of anatomical knowledge.

It is very clear, that if some provision be not made to furnish subjects, violations of the grave will continue to occur, and whenever a single instance of this kind is discovered, as must undoubtedly sometimes be the case, the feelings of the whole community will be more outraged, than they could be under the system proposed in half a century. At present too, the

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hazard attending these violations is so great, that only desperate and hardened individuals will engage in the business, and such persons are not very scrupulous as to whose sepulchres they violate; so that no one, under the existing state of things, can feel certain that the remains of his dearest friend may not be disturbed. So great is the risk in obtaining subjects, that the supply is not equal to the demand, and the price is consequently so exorbitant, as to place them in a great measure beyond the reach of students of moderate means.

This operates very injuriously on the middling classes of society, either by preventing them altogether from educating their children to the profession of medicine, or by putting it out of their power, if they do so educate them, to give them the facilities which are almost indispensable to success. To the rich, this is comparatively of but little importance. Their sons can seek in other states and countries, where a more liberal policy prevails, the opportunities that are denied them at home, and they thus have it in their power to obtain a rank in their profession at the outset of their career, which hardly any thing else can give them. If this system of prohibiting dissection is to be persisted in, no physician or surgeon should be held accountable at law for any error arising from ignorance of anatomy. But we hope for better things. We will not allow ourselves to doubt, that every thing which should be done, will ere long be accomplished. A great change in public sentiment has already taken place, and the great mass of the community will soon understand that they, and they only, will derive benefit from the contemplated measure. We repeat, that the members of the medical profession have no particular interest in it; if it should be adopted, more will be expected of them, and their labors will be immensely increased without any increase of compensation. It is absurd to suppose that they can have any sinister motive for the efforts they are making; it is impossible that any thing but a love of science, a desire to advance the cause of humanity, or an honorable ambition for professional renown, could induce them to engage in so loathsome an occupation as that of dissection.

It cannot be too often repeated nor too much insisted on, that it is the great mass of the people who are to be benefitted by giving facilities for acquiring anatomical knowledge, and thus raising the standard of medical education. The rich can command the highest professional attainments wherever they are to be

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found; but the man of moderate means must content himself with such as are within his reach. It is obviously for his interest, therefore, that all the professors of the healing art should be skilful and well-instructed; and this cannot be the case under the present system.

Whatever may be the result of the measures now in progress, they cannot fail to be productive of good from the discussion that has been elicited; and the Fellows of the Massachusetts Medical Society will be entitled to the gratitude of the friends of learning, for the active part they have taken in promoting them. It is creditable to them to have led the way in recommending a system, which could not fail at first to be viewed with jealousy and distrust; and it is to their honor that they have not been deterred from pursuing it by the fear of the obloquy and reproach, to which they might subject themselves. They must have known before taking a step in the business, that their motives would be assailed by those who were hostile to the measure they advised; and we respect them the more, because disregarding all narrow and selfish considerations, they were willing to step aside from their ordinary course, and urge upon the community the adoption of a system, which, however excellent it may be in itself, might in the first instance make its advocates obnoxious. Of their ultimate success, we will not allow ourselves to doubt.

ART. IV.—*Clarence. A Tale of Our Own Times.* By the Author of Redwood. 2 vols. 12mo. Carey & Lea. Philadelphia. 1830.

This work is perhaps not so finished as Redwood, and there is certainly nothing in it which displays so much genius as the character of Aunt Debby in that novel. But we have read it with more interest than any of its predecessors; and the lively and spirited sketches of artificial life and manners in it, will, we think, make it more entertaining to the generality of readers. It has all the fine qualities of head and heart which have so favorably recommended the former works of the fair author; the same pure style, the same elevated tone of morality, the same rare observation and exquisite tact, and the same healthful feeling and warm affections. We have placed the title of this book at the head of our article with the honest purpose of reviewing it, and not of writing an essay upon novels in general. Success-

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ful authorship confers a distinction, which must not pass unacknowledged, even in this land of business and politics. It is a duty we owe to ourselves and our literature, to examine the claims of our countrywoman to the high reputation she enjoys; and though our estimate is formed, of course, from a perusal of all her works, yet had she written nothing but Clarence, she would amply deserve all our praises.

We know of nothing for which she is more remarkable, than her nice and discriminating habits of observation, and that fine tact, which with the directness of instinct, seizes upon what is important for the description of men and things, and rejects what is superfluous. She has an 'eye practised like a blind man's touch,' and she can distinguish instantly those minute shades which are so imperceptibly blended in nature as to seem but one color to common observers. Her pictures of natural scenery are drawn with the distinct pencil of Cowper, and they rise up and appear to the eye as we read, without any effort of our own to give them shape and presence. Almost every page of Redwood and Hope Leslie will confirm our remarks, and amidst the multitude of admirable descriptions, we are puzzled to select any one. It is no very easy matter, for instance, to describe a country-seat, though it may seem to be so at first; yet how perfectly has she succeeded in delineating the mansion of Mr. Clarence. We have no confused images of lawns, forest, and shrubbery, but every thing is distinct and defined, and we have no doubt, that if ten or twelve artists were employed each, to make a picture of the scene, their sketches would differ very little. The same remark will apply to her descriptions of artificial life and manners;—such as her account of the Shaker establishment in Redwood, and the picture in the second volume of Clarence, of the tone, dress, and conversation of the fashionable society of New-York. She is evidently more acquainted with men than books, and has sought truth in the 'light of things,' and not in the 'still air of delightful studies;' and her resources are in the highest degree available, for she has collected their very materials herself. She has kept an observant eye on the masques that make up the world's motley pageant, and drawn thence a living wisdom, far higher than the cold forms of mere learning. She has noted the looks and tones of men, the manner in which they are affected by events, the way in which differing characters display themselves, the things in which all men are alike, and those in which they are most

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dissimilar. We are disposed to think more highly of this habit of discriminating observation, as a means of intellectual developement, than most persons. He who goes about among men with his eyes open, will learn something better than the lore that is hidden in books. This is a thing in which women excel men; it is a merit almost peculiar to female writers. Hence arises the perfect keeping observable in our author's pictures of still life, and the consistency and individuality of her characters, who are always one and the same in their conversation, their letters, and their actions.

She writes English with uncommon elegance and purity; no small merit in these days of extravagance and caricature, when foamy declamation is called strength, and calmness is another name for feebleness. She has the rare merit of never being common-place, and if she has occasion to express a familiar thought, she contrives by some graceful turn or happy allusion, to give it the air and gloss of novelty. She never descends to that vulgar artifice of dressing up little or old ideas in language so ambitious, that we imagine for a moment that we have something very new and fine, till a second glance shews us that all is but varnish and gilding. Her style is perfectly feminine, full of a certain indescribable gracefulness and ease, arising from a fine perception of beauty and an inborn delicacy of taste, which seem always to select the best words, and to put them in their right places. The letters in Clarence, we think, are very fine specimens of epistolary style, easy, graceful, and spirited, equally remote from formal stiffness and slipshod carelessness. Almost the only fault of style we have noticed, is an occasional diffuseness, the easily besetting sin of female writers.

We trust that we may be allowed to speak of another winning charm in these novels, arising not so much from the mind as the moral character of the author. We mean the impress everywhere discoverable, of an unaffected goodness of heart, and a warmth of affection which folds in its embrace every thing that lives. As John Paul has somewhere said, she loves God and every little child. Her sympathies are ready and active, and called forth by every shape of distress, and she never turns aside from suffering virtue, however repulsive the garb it may wear. There is a beautiful tenderness and sensibility breathing out from her writings, like the fragrance from a rose. She delights to accumulate images of peace and happiness and sun-

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shine, to describe all that is noble in man and attractive in woman—the virtue that exalts, the struggle that purifies, the trial that calls forth a seraph's energies, and the sweet affections that strew with flowers life's dusty highway. She does not know how to draw a villain; she has no idea of the spasms and convulsions of the mind, around which guilt and remorse have thrown their serpent-folds. Man in the pride of his imperial beauty, full of truth, and honor and grace, with high thoughts and generous affections, with reason sitting on his brow, and the pulse of joy in his veins,—woman, with her veil of gentle loveliness, her lily-like purity, her loving and trusting heart,—the light of friendship, the soul-exchanging glance of love,—these are the themes which call forth her finest powers, and it is in the delineation of these only, that her genius appears in its proper element. Her descriptions of childhood are full of the dewy freshness of life's morning hour. In this respect we know of no one who equals her, no one who draws in colors so speaking the image of a beautiful and happy child, with his heart of gladness and voice of silver-toned glee, his brave spirit, his frolic blood, and his winning tricks. Years have not brought to her that cold philosophy which looks with a loveless eye upon life in its silken bud, which recalls with no kindly thrill the days when the world was a garden, and the air a rainbow, when the hours brought roses in their hands, and the wings of time made music as they moved. There is a beauty and a mystery in childhood, and the wisest may learn a lesson from the young pilgrim of life, who bears yet fresh about him the brightness of the Spirit-land, which he has so lately left.

> 'Not in forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home.'

The love of nature, and a familiar acquaintance with the changeful expressions of the 'mighty mother's' countenance, are among the fine gifts of the author of Clarence. Her descriptions of scenery in the western part of Massachusetts in her New-England Tale, and in Redwood, may challenge a comparison with any in the language. She does not merely draw the features of a landscape, but she gives you the expression, and transfuses into her pages the spirit that hangs over it, like an atmosphere. She looks upon the outward world in the vein of the melancholy Jaques, translating its silence into

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thoughts and images; but she draws thence the elements of a far more cheerful philosophy. She learns wisdom from the cups of flowers, and the whisper of the pine conveys to her a lesson of truth. Every leaf is pregnant with instruction, and every stream teaches as it brawls. The forms of nature have stamped their own likeness upon the soul of their worshipper, and every mute image without has given birth to a correlative idea within, united by a mysterious affinity, which all may feel, but none can define. In her graphic descriptions of natural scenery, there is no small portion of the fine philosophy of Wordsworth, which regards the fair forms of the outward world as the instruments of a spiritual influence upon the mind of man, as the varied stops through which the myriad tones of a universal harmony are breathed. Woods and mountains are not only enjoyed, but felt and understood,—they are as the face of a long-tried and never-failing friend. This sensibility to natural beauty exerts a most expanding and elevating power upon the spirit of man, and when it is united with that gifted eye, which can read the letters of power and love written all over this goodly universe, nothing short of religion is capable of exerting a more holy ministration.

But more than all the rest, the author of Clarence has that high and pure tone of moral and religious feeling, without which genius is a fatal curse, and fine powers are destructive in the exact ratio of their splendor and superiority. She never makes vice interesting or virtue repulsive; but paints each in its true colors, so that the mind obeying its natural instinct is enamored of the one and abhors the other. She draws no beings, half-gods and half-fiends, with a veil of splendid and romantic qualities, covering but not hiding the darkest and foulest traits of character, and constraining us to admire the actor, though we detest the guilt. She never makes merit ludicrous or contemptible, by connecting it with those low or ridiculous qualities, which are offensive to our taste; or vice attractive by a graceful garb, which engages our interest, though we feel angry with ourselves for permitting it to do so. She never relates a deed of villainy in that cool way, which makes us feel some doubt, whether the author do not rather admire than otherwise, what he treats so much as a matter of course. She does not look only among the cultivated and the intellectual for fine traits of humanity, nor shrink with sickly fastidiousness from virtue in humble life. The same Being who gave the lily its

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exceeding beauty, and painted the enamelled cheek of the tulip, planted also the wild rose by the way-side, and scattered the seeds of the violet in a thousand fields; and He has shown the same equal benevolence in the human soul, His noblest work. He has caused beautiful affections and high virtues to take root in the heart, and they breathe the fragrance and bear the fruits of good works as often in the peasant as in the prince. The incense of love, and faith, and honor, ascends from the lowliest farm-house no less than the proudest palace. Our author, as we have said before, has been a keen observer of life and manners, and in accordance with the noble sentiment of Terence, has felt herself interested in whatever relates to humanity, and has learned to contemplate man as one of a species, separate from all adventitious distinctions. We regard her sketches of humble life as among the most felicitous portions of her works; strong, but not coarse, and full of sense, feeling, truth, and the nicest observation, reminding us in this last particular, of the minute accuracy of one of Wilkie's inimitable pictures. She depends for the interest of her stories rather upon the lowly and unobtrusive virtues, which are felt in the hours and minutes of life, gentle firmness, noiseless benevolence, and modest self-respect, than upon the more dazzling qualities, which can seldom be displayed in the common run of events, and if often exerted, give to the character an air of theatrical affectation. This healthiness of moral feeling gives to her works that kind of charm, which an amiable expression gives to a fine countenance, heightening the beauty of every agreeable feature, and making us overlook those which nature has less carefully moulded. We feel that we can cordially admire with a good conscience. No shadow of pity or regret for powers misapplied glides by to break the spell that charms us. We have no sublime free-thinkers, who boldly attack every thing that man holds sacred, no selfish misanthropes, who dare to hate the creatures God has made, no elegant ruffians rewarded with a fortune and a mistress instead of a halter, but the good man is honored and the villain punished. Our author never separates the tie that unites virtue and happiness, vice and misery, which succeed each other as invariably as thunder follows lightning or as spring comes after winter. But she deserves more than the praise which a virtuous heathen might have won; she has told us of the beauty and excellency of religion, and spoken to us in the name of

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Jesus of Nazareth. We venture to say, that there are few books which make better Sunday reading than hers. Her religion is no stern-eyed Moloch, with brow of gloom and voice of denunciation,—it requires the sacrifice of no natural affections, and frowns upon no innocent pleasures. It is a beautiful and gentle spirit, mingling with the every-day concerns of life, giving new charms to joy, and a touching grace to the wan countenance of sorrow, 'gilding with heavenly alchemy' feelings whose home and birth-place is earth, brightening the golden links of the chain that binds man to his brother man, wafting to our senses the ambrosial airs of Paradise, and scattering gleams from a land of enduring brightness over the dark places of our mortal pilgrimage. The Spirit she worships is a spirit of love, heard in the still small voice as well as in the whirlwind and the thunder, and seen in the rainbow and the dew-drop as well as in the lightning and the cataract, whose temple is nature, for whom the stars burn incense and the sleepless ocean murmurs deep applause, who binds up the wounds of a broken heart, and guides the water-fowl to his reed-sheltered nest. She does not fall into that fatally common fault, of flattering human vanity by representing the mind as able to do every thing of itself, to fight down all opposition, to keep a well-poised equilibrium in all situations by its own unaided energies, and to climb to the highest sphere of virtue alone and unguided. It may seem negative praise to say of a book that its moral tendency is good; but we conceive that a writer who devotes his powers to the cause of virtue, is worthy of praise in exactly the same degree as he is worthy of censure, who prostitutes them to the service of vice and licentiousness. A single great genius without moral feeling, is a greater curse to a generation than a pestilence or a famine. The amount of physical evil may be calculated, and the effect may be removed by discovering the cause; but no one may compute the mischief produced by one who corrupts the issues of life and poisons the fountain whence principles flow, and no one can check or stay it. We have had the misfortune to live in the same age with more than one writer, who has profaned the pure flame of genius by mingling it with strange fire, and who has employed the powers that might have won a Sybarite to put off his sensual slough, in lending new decorations to the form of sin and a more seductive tone to the syren voice of pleasure. We have been told, that the mill-

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horse regularity of virtue was fit only for the dull and lazy-blooded, whose thoughts never aspired above the clods of the valley; but that the spirits whose finer clay was warmed by a more etherial fire, could dwell only in the intoxicating atmosphere of excitement, and see happiness only in the sparkle of the wine-cup, the wild extravagance of riot, the daring license of mirth, the flush of revelry, and the delirium of unlawful pleasure. We owe to all those who endeavor to purge the abused sight of the nations, and call back the muses and the graces to the bowers of innocence and truth, a debt of gratitude which is great in proportion to the genius and zeal they have displayed; and among the champions of the good cause, who are yet true to God and virtue, the author of Clarence deserves an elevated rank.

Clarence is a tale of our own times, descriptive of the manners of the present day and of this country. An author who delineates events among which the reader himself might, without any violation of probability, have been an actor, has much to struggle against, and yet something to favor him; and perhaps it would be difficult to say which side of the balance preponderates. The spirit of sympathy makes us feel a keener interest in the adventures of characters who wear the same dress, dwell in the same land, speak the same language and are interested in the same subjects as ourselves—while on the other hand, the matter-of-fact air and garb of sober reality which the world now-a-days wears, precludes the possibility of romantic delusion; and the creative power is both limited in its materials and checked by severe laws in the employment of them. As in the dusk of the evening the imagination converts a finger-post into an apparition and invests a farm-house with the shadowy gloom of a castle, so the twilight of tradition softens the outlines of things and blurs our conceptions of their forms and colors; till the highwayman may assume the port and dignity of a hero, and a petty skirmish be regarded with as much interest, as a battle which decides the fate of the world. The story of Clarence is a complicated one, with a good deal of intrigue, a rapid succession of adventures and of deep-laid plans, baffled by more ingenious counter-manœuvres. We have two pairs of lovers, one or two villains, a heartless woman of the world and a host of inferior characters, more or less subservient to the disentanglement of the plot, or rather plots. We do not intend to give a detailed analysis of the story; for

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to those who have read the book it is unnecessary, and those who have not can form no idea of it from a meagre outline. We have always thought it unjust to an author, to distil two volumes into as many pages of a review; for in modern novels the story holds so subordinate a rank, that when stripped and presented alone it no more represents the book, than a bony skeleton does a body in the bloom and vigor of health. In this work too we have not one continuous adventure, to the winding up of which every incident directly or indirectly tends; but two or three distinct actions closely woven together, and no one sufficiently prominent to be considered as the main plot. But as we intend to offer a few strictures upon some portions of the story, we will give a rapid sketch of it, and speak more at large upon some particular parts.

The scene opens upon us in the throng and bustle of a crowded city. Among the gay groups which fill the streets, our attention is directed to a melancholy old man, whose slow pace and abstracted air present a striking contrast to the life and animation around him. An accident makes him acquainted with a fine high-spirited boy, whose noble bearing and engaging manners call into life the kind affections which misfortune had not entirely extinguished. They become friends; and nothing can be more beautifully described than the reciprocal affection of these two beings, the one at the very starting-post of life and the other hard by its goal. It is a group of youth and age, with the figure of love between. But we were not a little startled when we discovered that this old man and child thus thrown together by chance, stand to each other in the relation of grandfather and grand-child, and the discovery is effected by a combination of rather improbable events, which it is unnecessary to detail here. By the merest accident in the world, little Frank Carroll (the boy) persuades his father to have this mysterious old gentleman conveyed to his own dwelling instead of the almshouse, during a sudden illness occasioned, as we afterwards learn, by his overwhelming joy in learning that he was no longer childless, and that his long-lost son was no other than the father of the child whose loveliness and active kindness had opened anew the sealed fountains of his heart. Here an explanation takes place. Mr. Carroll is informed that he is the son of the stranger he had befriended, and an heir to his immense wealth; and that his real name is Clarence. Mr. Clarence senior dies soon after making this disclosure. As might be

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expected in so enterprising a country as ours, Mr. Clarence is not allowed to enjoy the property of his father so singularly acquired without a law-suit; which, at a time when success seems hopeless, is decided in his favor by the interference of Gerald Roscoe, the hero of the story. But the tidings of his unexpected good fortune fall unheeded upon his ear. They come upon him at a time when wealth seems more worthless than chaff; he holds in his arms his dying child, and the agony of his grief is deepened by the reflection that the all-absorbing business of the law-suit had prevented his attending to his illness till it was too late. Poor little Frank—he had entirely won our heart by his charming qualities; and we parted from him with as much regret as if he had been one of our own acquaintances. We are sorry that the author should have thought it necessary to kill him, and hardly know why she did it, unless, as we have heard it suggested, she feared that he would eclipse not only his sister, the future heroine, but all the other characters in the book.

An interval of some years is supposed to elapse, ere the narrative is resumed. We are then introduced into the house of Mrs. Roscoe, who has been left almost destitute by the death of her husband, after enjoying for a long time the elegances of wealth, but who possesses in her son a treasure which makes her look with indifference upon her change of circumstances. Nothing can be finer than the conversation between the mother and son, in which the characters of the feminine and gentle matron and the high-spirited and chivalrous young man are delightfully contrasted—the unmingled love and confidence of the one, with the tender, respectful deference of the other—and we are readily convinced, that nothing can disturb the happiness which is based upon virtue and the affections. They are interrupted by Mr. Stephen Morley in a scene full of truth, shrewdness and comic nature.

It is not until now that the plot of the novel properly begins. The scene is transferred to the country-house of Mr. Clarence, who is a good deal altered from Mr. Carroll, not by the possession of wealth, (for he is neither a weak nor a vulgar person) but by grief for the loss of his son. A number of new characters are introduced, and among them the daughter of the host, Miss Gertrude Clarence, the heroine; who had been mentioned once or twice in the early part of the narrative, but hardly noticed, so much was she thrown into the shade by her more brilliant brother.

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She does not take us by storm, but gains upon us in every page, her fine qualities lying too deep to be discovered at once. We have also Mrs. Layton, a woman of sensibility without feeling, and of cleverness without sense, her daughter Emilie, a perfect rose-bud of beauty and simplicity, of both of whom we shall say more hereafter, and Louis Seton, a young artist, full of the sensitiveness and shrinking timidity of genius, who teaches painting to Miss Clarence, and, as every young lady will guess, is in love with his fair pupil; besides many others who are merely introduced for the nonce, and have nothing to do with the main action of the story. After one or two very playful and animated scenes, in which some of the subordinate characters, and among others an English traveller, are hit off with great spirit, the interest is engrossed by the unhappy fortunes of Louis Seton, the young painter abovementioned, whose frame, weakened by the indulgence of a hopeless passion, and the self-tormenting fancies of dependent genius, is entirely overcome by the stinging mortification which he suffers upon Mr. Clarence's opening by mistake a letter written to him by a vulgar brother, in which his patron and his patron's daughter are spoken of in a tone of the most brutal coarseness. For the sake of his health the family make an excursion to Trenton Falls, whose magic scenery is described with great beauty and fidelity. Here some very extraordinary scenes take place. The hero and heroine encounter each other in a manner reminding one of the meeting of two persons in the night, one of whom has a dark lantern and the other not; for the lady learns the name of the gentleman, while he is not so fortunate, but remains for a long time ignorant who was the fair spirit whom he had seen for the first time in so romantic a situation; discovering thereby, in our opinion, a want of shrewdness very discreditable, if not to a hero, certainly to a man. Poor Seton finally becomes insane, disappears in a mysterious manner, and notwithstanding all efforts to trace him, remains undiscovered until a short time before death comes to relieve his gentle and sensitive spirit from all his real and imaginary woes.

In the second volume we are introduced into the gay world of New-York, and among the gilded swarm that enact the solemn farce of fashion; we breathe the scented air of drawing-rooms, our eyes are dazzled with the glare of candelabras, and our ears are familiar with the language of *persiflage*, and the shining counters that pass current in the *beau monde* for the sterling

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coin of sense. Our author seizes and embodies with magic skill the fleeting colors and changing forms of fashionable society, and the tone and manner of those who regard life as one long drawing-room, of the heartless and fascinating woman of the world, full of sentiment and devoid of virtue, of the curled fop, whose soul seems lost in the folds of his cravat, of honest and respectable vulgarity and of worthless refinement. To the end of the work the purpose seems to be to prevent the marriage of Emilie Layton to Pedrillo, (the villain of the piece) a showy Spaniard, whose great wealth is a sufficient make-weight in the eyes of the unprincipled parents for the happiness of their child. This is effected by the liberality and zeal of the heroine, aided by Gerald Roscoe, who defeats a desperate attempt of Pedrillo to recover his mistress by open violence. Miss Clarence, during all her benevolent exertions for the sake of her friend, finds time to increase the favorable impression she had made upon Roscoe in her mysterious interview with him at Trenton Falls, though he does not find out till the last moment the name of his fair enslaver; and he a lawyer, strange to say. The story, if it ever spread much, must have been fatal to his rise at the bar. The novel ends with the suicide of Mr. Layton and Pedrillo, and the marriages of the hero and heroine, and of Emilie Layton and Mr. Randolph the true man.

Such is an imperfect outline of the story, stripped of all its episodes, and of the scenes, adventures, and relations more or less intimately connected with it. Our objections to it are grounded on the opinion that it is unnatural and improbable, and that the author has attempted to do what the highest genius could not accomplish, to give a highly romantic interest to events occurring in our own prosaic age and country. One thing does not follow another in the natural and easy order in which the real world goes on, but the changes are brought about by means not impossible to be sure, but such as would startle and astonish us in the highest degree, were we to see them really take place. The incidents by which the *denouement* is attained, depend often upon a succession of contingencies, any one of which would seem surprising, but whose coincidence falls hardly short of the miraculous. This is a violation of one of the essential laws of fiction; and there are some remarks of Professor Stewart on this subject, so much better than any thing that we can offer, that we trust we need present no apology for transcribing them. 'How many unexpected combinations of cir-

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cumstances do we meet with, not only in history, but in the daily intercourse of society, which we should not hesitate to pronounce unnatural and improbable, if they occurred in a novel. In real life this very singularity amuses by the surprise it occasions, but in a professed work of imagination, the surprise offends us by suggesting doubts about the fidelity of the representation. In a work of imagination, besides, our pleasure arises in part from our admiration of the skill of the artist, and this is never so strongly displayed, as when extraordinary events are brought about by a series of ordinary and natural occurrences. An incident, on the other hand, out of the common course of human affairs, strikes us as a blemish, by seeming to betray a poverty of genius and invention in the author.'

Every reader of Clarence must have been struck with the violation of these just rules. Extraordinary events are continually brought about by extraordinary occurrences, and our surprise is continually called forth by the happening of incidents, which we did not expect even a page or two before. This, as a general rule, is a defect in a novel, though a merit in a drama. It is not impossible, for example, that an old man and a child should be attracted towards each other in the crowd of a populous city, and should form a devoted friendship; that the former should learn that he was the grandfather of his young favorite, and this too from the lips of the faithless wretch, to whom he had many years before intrusted his son and a part of his fortune, and who by successive changes had come to be his fellow-lodger in an obscure boarding-house in New-York: but surely all this is very improbable, and would have been regarded as miraculous, if it had really occurred. The events at Trenton Falls must, we fear, fall under the same censure. It is not a little singular, that all the principal personages should meet there by accident; and the moonlight scene is too much like one of Mrs. Radcliffe's wild creations, to seem in keeping with a 'tale of our own times,' and our own sternly matter-of-fact country. Would a lady of Miss Clarence's delicacy be likely to stroll out alone at midnight in search of the rapturous, like some love-lorn Rosa Matilda, and engage in conversation with a man to whom she was an utter stranger? How can we imagine that Louis Seton, dangerously ill, and an object of so much interest to a wealthy family, should be neglected to that degree that he could steal out from his room, and wander unobserved to the very brink of the cliff that overhangs the Fall?

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And how could his delicate frame, weakened by illness, survive the exposure to the chill night-air, the plunge into the water, and above all the exhaustion of the nervous system by the frenzy of excitement into which he was thrown?

The relations too, under which Pedrillo is introduced to us, seem hardly consistent with probability. He is a dashing foreigner, whose home is that common-sewer of the nations, the Spanish West Indies, with the air of a voluptuary and an adventurer; precisely the sort of character to be regarded with the most suspicion by our shy and inquiring people, and to whom nothing short of the very strongest recommendations would have persuaded them to open their houses; and yet we find him the intimate friend of one of the most aristocratic families in New-York, and afterwards the affianced husband of the daughter —and such a daughter too—whose affections had been already given to a man every way worthy of her. It may be urged, that this is explained by the influence which his daring character had acquired over the timid and guilty Layton, but this is not the least unnatural part of the whole. That Layton's extravagance and love of dissipation should have driven him to the gaming-table, and that he should have attempted by unfair play to make his success certain, and should have been detected, we can easily imagine; but that he should have been so unmitigated a villain, so dead to human nature, as, for the sake of relieving himself from his embarrassments, to be willing to betray his first-born and favorite child into the hands of one whom he knew to be a monster of iniquity, supposes a degree of moral turpitude hardly conceivable, considering his education and rank in life. And the liberality of Mr. Clarence in disposing with a dash of his pen of sixty thousand dollars to second the generous zeal of his daughter, seems so quixotic and extravagant, that if it had occurred in real life, we fear the law would have extended its protecting arm to relieve him of the care of a fortune, which he lavished in so wild a manner. That the young lady, in the glow of enthusiastic attachment, should have thought all the money in the world mere chaff in comparison with the happiness of her friend, is not at all surprising; but that the father should have given up so large a sum to extricate a profligate and selfish man, who set a price on his child's head, from his self-caused difficulties, is a thing, we may safely say, which would never have occurred except in a novel. The means by which Gertrude Clarence

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discovers the retreat of Louis Seton are extremely inartificial, and depend upon a succession of most improbable contingencies; but the last hours of this sensitive child of genius are described in a scene so full of touching, yet sublime beauty, that we quite forget, in our sympathy and admiration, the manner in which we were introduced into his sick chamber. If the author had never written any thing but this scene, she would have entitled herself to the gratitude of all those, who know how much the character may be purified by the fountains that flow from the heart; and we little envy the constitution of the man who can read it without emotion.

The *denouement* of a novel is the part which most severely tries an author's ingenuity; for it is very possible that a story may have been skilfully constructed to a certain point, and then be wound up in the most hurried and clumsy manner, reminding us of the placid flow of a river till it reaches a cliff, over which it throws itself in foam and thunder. And here we cannot congratulate our author upon her success. A most cumbrous mass of machinery is employed to disengage and bring to a point the tangled threads of her story; plot is set against plot, manœuvre put in opposition to manœuvre, and we are hurried on through so tortuous a maze of policy, that we involuntarily take a long breath by way of relief, when the ladies are finally restored to the arms of the true knights. The wretched Layton, having lost at the gaming-table the money given him for so sacred a purpose, and rendered half frantic by the threats of Pedrillo, who had his reputation in his power, consents to betray his daughter into the hands of the latter at a masquerade. Through two or three servants this plan comes to the ears of Gertrude Clarence, who (as woman's wit is always better than man's in matters of love and elopement) contrives, by dint of zeal, shrewdness and money, an ingenious counter-mine which is entirely successful; and Miss Layton flies with her lover from the guardianship of the parents, who had proved themselves so unworthy of their trust. While we are clapping our hands for joy and benevolently smiling on the sagacious Roscoe, who has at length discovered that his fair *incognita* is no other than the rich and famous Miss Clarence, our spirits are quite dashed again by the appearance of the formidable Pedrillo, who, on learning how he had been duped, sets out with a band of trusty desperadoes with the resolution of regaining his lost mistress by open force or perishing in the

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attempt. But he is doomed to be again baffled, for Gerald Roscoe follows close upon his heels with a party, well armed and strong in the consciousness of a good cause. They all meet at an obscure inn, a *rencontre* takes place, which ends (of course) with the success of Roscoe and his followers, and the death of Pedrillo. Every one who has read the book, must have remarked in how unskilful a manner, and with what violations of probability this catastrophe is effected; but it is so satisfactory to our feelings, and the letters with which the work ends are so exactly what they ought to be, and leave the mind so full of images of peace and happiness, that we close the book with a glow of pleasure, unalloyed by the recollection of strange adventures and unnatural incidents.

The story, with all its faults, is eminently free from the unpardonable sin of dulness. It is, in fact, highly interesting, perhaps the more so from the romantic coloring thrown over it, and the occasional violations of strict probability. The variety of adventures, the rapid changes of scene, the succession of incidents, never permit the attention to flag for a moment; and though we are conducted to our journey's end by a circuitous route, it is one 'so green and so full of goodly prospects on every side,' that we quite forget our fatigue in the pleasant scenes that open around us. There are some delightful episodes scattered along the narrative, of which we have not spoken, but whose merit the reader will find out for himself. We were particularly pleased with the description of Abeille and his abode—an oasis of verdure amid a desart of brick pavements and dead walls—his own buoyant temperament proof against that keenest arrow in fortune's quiver, the recollection in poverty of former wealth and splendor. The laughing beauty of his daughter, graceful and merry as one of her own canary-birds, the tempter that enters this Eden of peace, the struggle in the heart of poor Angelique, and her happy deliverance from the snares of the seducer, are sketched with exquisite fidelity; and over all is shed that nameless charm arising from true sensibility and feminine tenderness of feeling, for which all the scenes of our author, in which the workings of the affections are pourtrayed, are so remarkable. The history of Louis Seton (with the exception of, now and then, a little high-flown extravagance) is beautifully told, and the tale of his melancholy fortunes runs like a thread of sable, through the chequered web of the narrative. The galling pain that genius writhes

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under when forced to drink the bitter cup of poverty and dependence, the jealous misinterpreting suspicions of a diseased sensibility, the agonies of a spirit bleeding from self-inflicted wounds, and the effect of all these upon a frame which, from its sensitiveness, seems to be one nerve, are conceived with a high degree of power. In some parts, particularly in the closing scenes, she has soared to a higher elevation than in any other portion of this novel, and we know not, but that we may add, of her former ones also. We almost wonder that Miss Clarence could not make up her mind to return his devoted passion, as we are told on good authority, that 'pity is akin to love,' and no one could help feeling the deepest compassion for his desolate situation and the gloom in which his life was steeped. When we remember his fine intellect, his enthusiasm, his purity, and the idolatry which women always feel for genius when united with moral feeling, we think that if we had been in the place of Gerald Roscoe, we should have been considerably agitated if we had been aware that we had so dangerous a rival. The least efficient portions of the book are those in which the author has attempted to give a tragic grandeur to the workings of dark passions, and to thrill us with the fearful collision of guilty minds. To do this with success, requires not only a peculiar and masculine talent, but a familiarity with all the dark corners of the human heart, and a cool observation of the language and conduct of men, in such circumstances, and under such excitements, as no respectable woman has ever an opportunity of remarking. The most valuable and characteristic scenes are those in which the lash of playful satire is applied to the lesser foibles of life, and the unostentatious *home-bred* virtues are set forth and eulogised; for these are the traits which women have the most frequent opportunities of observing, and are the most skilful in catching and delineating. The visit of the heroine to the family of the Browns suggests itself to our recollection as an example in point. It is admirable and consistent with itself throughout. Their gorgeous house, in which the master and mistress are the only plain pieces of furniture, and the rich ore of sense and feeling running through their homely conversation, are described in a manner that seems to shew that the author is struggling between her sense of the ridiculous, and her sympathy with goodness, under however coarse an outside; and the different manner in which the unworthiness of their son affects the parents, the forgiving tender-

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ness and garrulous sorrow of the mother, and the affected sternness of the father, which renders only more striking the convulsive workings of natural affection, shew a very nice discrimination, and are conceived with a genuine pathos, that goes straight to the heart. If there be any one so fastidious as to pronounce this scene vulgar, we think his taste needs correcting. Another excellent scene of the same nature, but more comic in its cast, is the description of the dinner-party at Mr. Clarence's, in which we hardly know which to admire most, the spirit of the individual portraits, or the skill with which they are grouped and contrasted. The English traveller is sketched in a most good-natured spirit, with a great deal of sly humor, but entirely free from caricature, and the rude brushes which his dignity meets with from the blundering forwardness of Mrs. Upton are so impregnated with the salt of wit and true *vis comica*, that we regret very much to have seen so little of this hopeful scion of nobility. It is with such weapons as these, that travellers of the stamp of Mr. St. John should be attacked. To employ argument and eloquence against them would be like cannonading a wasp's nest, though that illustration will hardly hold, as these gentry have the buzz of the insect without its sting.

If there are any who agree with us in our opinion, that the best part of a novel consists in its sketches of character, they will find a great deal to admire in Clarence. The author has gone through the high-ways and bye-ways of life and filled her sketch-book with copies of nature, and by decomposing and combining these anew, she has given us a great variety of characters, each of which has the distinctness of individuality and the fresh coloring of nature; and yet none of them, (as far as we know) are representatives of any living being. We feel in reading the book, that we have certainly seen this person and been acquainted with that one, but we cannot tell when or where, and in endeavoring to remember, we feel that puzzling sensation attendant upon the effort to recall the effaced images of a dream. In the character of the heroine, (for as in gallantry bound, we assign her the first place,) the author has accomplished what few would have the courage to attempt, and still fewer the talent to execute; namely, the making her principal female character interesting without great personal beauty. We can hardly conceive of a heroine without beauty, any more than we can of a star without brightness, or a rose without fragrance, and even Jeanie Deans, universal favorite as she

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is, is regarded as but a fine exception to a general rule. Miss Clarence is well defined by the author herself, as a 'heroine of the nineteenth century.' She has the strong sense, the quiet energy, the pure-toned feeling, the absence of affectation, extravagance, and mawkish sentimentality, which would secure the highest esteem and admiration in real life, and which enable her to act with decision and success in situations where some young ladies we have read of would only have screamed and fainted away. When we were first introduced to her, we were afraid she was going to be one of those pattern-women, who never do any thing wrong, and who make the worst imaginable heroines, because we know that in whatever circumstances they may be placed, they will do and say exactly what is most proper; but we were refreshed by perceiving, on a little further acquaintance, that she could now and then commit an amiable indiscretion, and be hurried by her warm-hearted impulses out of the pale of rigid prudence. The author has shewn no little skill in suffering her fine traits of character to be developed by circumstances, and in leaving the reader to form his own opinion without continually challenging his admiration, and this makes the lady herself far more interesting; for there is a great charm in those characters that keep something in reserve, and shew new excellencies to meet the call of new emergencies. We regard her as quite superior to the hero, though he is a very fine fellow, spirited, high-minded, self-forgetting, and with 'all good grace to grace a gentleman.' He richly deserves the happiness that falls to his lot, but he has not that charm of individuality which Miss Clarence so eminently possesses. He seems to be merely one of a species, a promising young man about town. We hear rather too much of his white teeth, his flashing eyes, and his noble bearing, and we feel almost afraid that he must himself have participated in the general admiration which his graces and accomplishments excited. But the hero of a modern novel is always the least important personage in it, and all that is required of him is, that he should be young, handsome, and brave, bow gracefully, and speak good English.

Mrs. Layton is the most brilliant and effective character in the book, and the perfect success with which she is conceived and embodied, discovers no inconsiderable portion of genius and inventive power. From the first to the last, she is the same finished piece of art. She wears elegance like a mantle,

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and to be graceful and *recherchée*, costs her no more effort than to move and breathe. Her conversation and letters are full of that sparkling originality, which arises from the union of wit in conceiving, and taste in expressing thoughts. She has made the art of pleasing a study, and has neglected nothing which may contribute to entire success. She can encourage the diffident, flatter the vain, amuse the grave, instruct the gay, and adapt herself so dexterously to the tastes and opinions of all she talks with, as to make each one imagine himself an object of particular interest to her. She has seen enough of mankind to be able to discover with ease the assailable points in the characters of those whom she wishes to influence, and knows enough of books to quote opportunely and give her opinions confidently; yet to a superficial observer, she might seem to have studied man as profoundly as Bacon or Tacitus, and to possess a mind enriched by tributes from every province in the realms of thought. She is armed cap-a-pie for the encounter of wits, and possesses every weapon requisite for the mimic jousts of a drawing-room, the sparkling repartee, the keen-edged, yet sheathed rebuke, the disguised compliment, the gay *bon mot*, the pensive sentiment. She can employ them all with the happiest effect, wound without seeming to wound, and charm we know not why. Yet with all this, she is deficient in every thing that makes a person truly respectable and praise-worthy. She has not a spark of genuine feeling nor a ray of genuine sense, and has not read one page of the true philosophy of life, that philosophy which feeds the mind with thoughts of beauty, and stamps upon the heart sweet images of love. She fears nothing but ridicule, and worships nothing but opinion. She bows to the golden calf of fashion, and neglecting the unchanging forms of things, watches the shadows of the clouds that pass over them. She is so exquisitely selfish as to sacrifice the affections of others to her own tastes, and she would not hesitate to gratify her slightest whim, though at every step she crushed a human heart. This portrait is drawn with a master hand, and what is peculiarly excellent in it is, that in our admiration of her fine powers, we never cease to lament and pity their perversion. No young lady could ever wish to be like Mrs. Layton, and no one can read her history without learning from it a valuable lesson. We have heard many people express surprise, that the author should have made Gerald Roscoe, a young man

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of so much moral purity, (and the young have the least charity for the unprincipled,) so great an admirer of Mrs. Layton, especially as the latter was so little of a hypocrite, and so openly avowed her contempt for things which most people regard as sacred. But no one will object to this, who knows the amount of the influence exerted by a fascinating married woman upon a young imaginative mind, and how possible it is for the strongest and purest natures to be, like Tasso's hero, caught in the toils spread by an artful Armida.

We do not think the character of Pedrillo a very successful effort. He is rather common-place, and has nothing to distinguish him from all the genteel scoundrels that act by 'insinuation and not by bluster.' There is too much of the bragger and bravo about him. He reminds us of a vulgar actor, who rants the louder, and gesticulates the more vehemently as the plot deepens, and the storm grows darker around him. He is a mere tyro in knavery, for the foppery of his dress and the *gôut de spectacle* which runs through his air and manners, are the things most calculated to draw the attention of others towards him, and make him an object of suspicion; while the very first effort of a complete knave is to throw people entirely off their guard by an affectation of great plainness and sincerity. He has not the fabled power of the basilisk to slay silently, but his rattles betray him as he moves to his work of death. The fair author cannot be supposed to have speculated very deeply on these subjects, and we presume no one will regret it, for if there be a 'knowledge which is power,' there is also an 'ignorance which is bliss.' The scenes between him and Layton are the least efficient in the book, for there is no thrilling sense of sublime energy or heroic suffering in them, and our detestation of the villainy of the one, and our contempt for the craven spirit of the other, are not qualified by the admiration which we cannot help feeling for guilt when united with great intellectual power.

There are a number of well-drawn characters besides these, which our limits will hardly permit us to mention. There is Emilie Layton, graceful and lovely as a wood-nymph, pure as a dew-drop, and full of sweetness, feeling and truth; in every thing presenting a most delightful contrast to her artificial and heartless mother. And there is Mr. D. Flint, (whose feelings we will not wound by writing his name at full length,) for whom we have a great deal more respect than we could have sup-

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posed possible when we were first acquainted with him. He is a very fair specimen of a Yankee adventurer, and it would be well for New-England if all those of her children who have his bustling perseverance, his impudence, and his self-complacency, had also his honesty, his warmth of heart and his rectitude of principle. Let us not forget that gentle carpet-knight Major Daisy, whose warlike *prænomen* was won, as you may guess, in no desperate fight, and who in all his campaigns never suffered any greater inconvenience, than that of a slight ducking, and never encountered a more dangerous foe than a restive horse. Long may he live, and have no rival near the throne in his judgment of shawls, perfumes, and laces, and may the next lady to whom he offers his illustrious self, have more taste than Gertrude Clarence.

We close our imperfect notice by cordially recommending this novel to the reading public, and we would even beg those who, as a general rule, avoid works of modern fiction, to make an exception in this instance. We are proud of our distinguished countrywoman, and regard her works as an honor to our land; and the reason that we have spoken so much of the faults of Clarence and dwelt so sparingly upon its beauties, is, that the latter bear so large a proportion to the former, and are in themselves so striking, that no reader of common apprehension can help finding them out and admiring them for himself. We are grateful to her for the pleasure she has afforded us, and would beg her to continue her labors in the neglected vineyard of American fiction; to paint the glorious scenery of her own native land and the virtues of its children, to tell us of the nobleness of its sons, and the beauty of its daughters, and 'to hold the mirror up to every shape of life and every hue of opinion.' Let her not attempt to give a highly romantic coloring to her plots, for the web of life in our Western world is too coarse to bear the embroidery of romance. Nor let her attempt to give a highly dramatic effect to detached scenes and particular situations, for the power of doing this is a gift bestowed upon very few, and much as we admire the author of Clarence, we are constrained to say that she is not one of them. Her excellence consists in her strong sense, her feminine feeling, her powers of description, her vigorous and beautiful English, the touching eloquence with which she pleads the cause of humanity, and above all, the keenness of her observation and her skill in de-

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lineating the lights and shadows of character. She has but to look around her to find an ample field for the exercise of her talents;—she may find abundant food for speculation in the Protean forms which society assumes in our wide continent,—in the gay throngs that chase amusement from one watering-place to another, and in the lowly virtues that cluster round our farm-house hearths, and, like flowers that twine around the living rock, give beauty and fragrance to the hardest and coarsest forms of life. To the writer of fiction, whose *forte* is character-drawing, we know of no land like ours, whether we regard the extent of our territory, the variety of the stocks from which we sprung, the youthful and electric vigor with which the veins of our world are filled, and the unchecked freedom with which it is our unvalued privilege to act and think. The face of society has not by long attention been ground down to one uniform level, and vigorous and fantastic shoots of character are not nipped by the frost of hoary convention. The mountain-wind is not more free to blow, than is each man to indulge his wildest whims. And as the harvest is plenty, so are the laborers few;—the materials of romance in the old world are waxing threadbare, but the charm of unworn freshness is here like morning-dew. We would call upon all the sons and daughters of genius to be up and doing, and we would entreat the author of Clarence in particular, to persevere in the course she has so successfully entered upon, for her own sake and her country's sake.

ART. V.—*Essay on the Hieroglyphic System of M. Champollion, Jr. and on the Advantages which it offers to Sacred Criticism.* By J. G. H. GREPPO, Vicar-General of Belley. Translated from the French, by ISAAC STUART, with Notes and Illustrations. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. 1830.

Our number for October, 1829, contained an article from a learned correspondent, on the subject of Egyptian Antiquities, satisfactorily showing the light, which M. Champollion's discoveries have already cast upon the ancient history of Egypt. The appearance of a translation of M. Greppo's work has seemed to us a fit opportunity for a brief account of the origin and nature of those discoveries, a curious subject,

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which has not yet, we believe, been treated in the North American Review.

This work of M. Greppo is an exposition and illustration of the Hieroglyphical System of Champollion, the younger. It will afford the reader, who has not access to the works of Champollion, (and they are not translated into English, nor of common occurrence in this country,) and the other original authors, who have contributed to the present state of hieroglyphical learning, the means of forming a pretty satisfactory acquaintance with its elements. M. Greppo does not profess to have added any thing himself to the stock of hieroglyphical literature; but he has furnished several chapters, which will be read with interest, on the application of this literature to the study of history, and to sacred criticism. Being the production of a French writer, it may exaggerate a little, though as our readers we think will see, but little, the credit due to M. Champollion, on the score of originality; but M. Greppo is wholly free from the violent party spirit of most of the English writers on this subject, who really go beyond the bounds of reasonable excitement, whenever the comparative merits of Dr. Young and M. Champollion are named. The Marquis of Spineto, as might have been expected of a philosophical writer, English only by adoption, divides the palm with tolerable justice, between these rival antiquaries, with perhaps a slight leaning toward Dr. Young.

The translation of M. Greppo's work has been very creditably executed by Mr. Isaac Stuart. We have not seen the original, and consequently cannot speak from actual comparison; but the translation has all the appearances of fidelity, and the style is neat and perspicuous. It is enriched with an appendix, consisting of notes partly by the translator, and partly by his father, Professor Moses Stuart, whose reputation in the departments of sacred philology and literature, will prepare the reader to expect, what he will find in those portions of the appendix, which proceed from his pen,—a choice specimen of learned and critical reading. The whole volume is well calculated to awaken a taste for hieroglyphical studies, and to possess the reader with a general knowledge of the progress made in this interesting and novel region of investigation. In having presented it to the American public, Mr. Isaac Stuart has entitled himself to the thanks of the scholar and the general student; and gives a hopeful earnest of further contributions to the cause of learning.

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Among all the wonders of human art, *language*, although going back in its origin to a period alike beyond history and tradition,—the product of the infancy of the world,—is certainly the greatest. If we can conceive of a community, possessing all the other arts and refinements of civilized life, but destitute of language, (a thing of course impossible,) we shall easily admit, that the invention, by such a community, or any member of it, of such a thing as a regular language would take rank in importance, curiosity, and difficulty of all those arts and inventions, even the most wonderful and useful, which excite the admiration of men, in the most cultivated ages. Yet this stupendous invention dates from what we call the infancy of the world. The amazing incongruity between what we must suppose the condition of man, at such a period, and the invention of such an art, even in its rudest forms, has led to the solution of the problem, by divine interference. It is not an unworthy occasion for such interference.

Among almost all nations, there are two kinds of language wholly distinct from each other, though by use intimately associated, the more difficult of which was probably the first in the order of invention;—we mean the spoken and the written language. Some imperfect indication of feelings, ideas, and objects by sounds, must have been coeval with humanity. Such an indication is the basis of a spoken language, and the foundation of that marvellous system of denoting sensible and external substances, grammatical relations, and mental operations by words, which strikes us the more with admiration, the longer we contemplate it. The rude beginning of a written language, may have taken place in the delineation of the form of sensible objects,—the picture of a wild animal slain, of an enemy conquered, of the moon to indicate the number of natural months since an event happened, and other like rudiments of picture-writing, employed as an aid to oral tradition. An inscription like those on Dighton rock, and other similar rocks in different parts of North America, and pictures like those of our Indians on buffalo-skins, may be regarded as a specimen of the earliest essays in writing;—we mean, not in point of antiquity, but in the order of invention. Contemporaneously with these two kinds of language, a third, different from writing, but also addressed to the eye, must likewise have been used, that of signs and gestures, which probably existed in greater perfection, at a period, when the other two modes

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of communication were imperfect, than it has at any subsequent period, except as applied in modern times, to the education of the deaf and dumb. We cannot but remark, that the astonishing perfection to which this language of signs is carried, by the deaf and dumb, shows the great and innate aptitude of man for social intercourse, and for the expression of feeling and thought, by an artificial system of communication.

Circumstances, impossible to be traced, decided to what degree these several modes of expression should be cultivated and developed, in the different communities of men. The language of signs must early have dropped into disuse, except as very partially retained to enforce the spoken language, by a few gestures, indicating emotions or some simple relations of place, which form a part of the oratory even of savage tribes. To what degree of improvement the spoken or the written language arrived, in any country, before these two languages were made to represent each other, (a process wholly distinct from that, by which either of them represents ideas or things) cannot now be known. But we can conceive, that the different stages of the written language denote the successive improvement in the art of reading, that is, of converting the written into the spoken language. From using the whole of the picture for the whole of the sound, the progress is natural to using a part of the picture for a part of the sound; and in the final result of this progress, we find alphabetical writing deduced from hieroglyphical. The recent discoveries in Egyptian hieroglyphics fully establish this, as the order of improvement. We find not only hieroglyphical signs employed as alphabetical characters, in their original shape of animals, plants, utensils, &c.; but we also find a sort of popular current alphabet formed out of the hieroglyphic, merely by a more compendious delineation.

With all the nations of Western Asia and the Europeans descended from them, the invention of alphabetical characters was the signal for the disuse of hieroglyphics. The Egyptians alone, on the confines of Western Asia, retained their hieroglyphics, and used them conjointly with the alphabetical system of writing originally deduced from them, intermixing the two in the same document, and at the same time, in a manner not as yet thoroughly investigated, and threatening some embarrassment, in decyphering the hieroglyphical legends, which still remain. It appears, beyond all doubt, and is assumed by M. Champollion,

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as one of the facts ascertained by him, that the same sign is sometimes phonetic, sometimes figurative, sometimes symbolic; that is, that the picture of a hawk sometimes stands for the letter A; sometimes for the animal, of which it is the picture; sometimes for the qualities of which that animal is the supposed symbol. Had not the sagacity of M. Champollion and his associates already overcome obstacles seemingly insurmountable, we should regard with some apprehension this admission, that the hieroglyphic characters in existence are not a uniform alphabetical system.

The fact that the Egyptians alone retained their hieroglyphics, the imperfect intercourse between ancient nations, the great superiority of alphabetic over hieroglyphical signs, the want of a cultivated literature among the Egyptians, (whether as cause or effect of retaining a mixed use of hieroglyphics and alphabetical characters) seem to have been causes which prevented the knowledge of the hieroglyphics from extending beyond Egypt. Modern scholars, Mr. Greppo among the number, have expressed themselves with considerable severity, on the subject of the rather unaccountable silence, observed on this matter by those Greek authors, who must have been well informed as to the nature of hieroglyphics. It must be admitted to be somewhat singular, that a man, for instance, like Plato, who, in the maturity of his powers, passed thirteen years as a student in Egypt, should have left us no information, on this subject. He tells us, indeed, that when Thoth invented letters, he consulted king Thamus, whether he should make his invention public. His majesty, with a foresight which does him great credit, dissuaded the publication, as likely to lead to the disuse of hieroglyphics and the consequent detriment of learning. Considering the period, in which Plato lived and the length of time for which alphabetical writing had been known in Greece, (a thousand years and more,) we should infer from this passage, (what indeed is otherwise ascertained) that, at the period of his visit to Egypt, the hieroglyphical system had passed over into the alphabetical. If the Egyptian priests, his masters in philosophy, had been still in the habit of using a kind of ideographic and symbolic characters, unintelligible to the rest of men, Plato could hardly have avoided intimating, that the apprehensions of king Thamus had not been justified by the result. Or in other words, the tradition recorded by Plato is evidently an enunciation of the fact, that

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alphabetical writing, among the Egyptians, had superseded the ancient symbolical and ideographic writing; not that hieroglyphics were not used, (for we know they were for many hundred years later,) but that they were used phonetically, as letters of the alphabet.

This fact must have been notorious in its nature. Plato, living thirteen years in Egypt, could no more have been ignorant, that the hieroglyphics were substantially an alphabetical character, than he could have been ignorant of the rise of the Nile. The same thing must have been familiar to the scholars of the Alexandrian school; and the true reason why so little is said on the subject, in the Greek authors, may be, that the ordinary use of hieroglyphics contained nothing strange. The Egyptians made their letters one way, and the Greeks another, and this was the chief difference in the mode of writing, practised by the two nations. Still it was true, that some use of hieroglyphics as a figurative and symbolical language remained, and this being necessarily of a more recondite and arbitrary nature, depending for its true construction on an accompanying tradition, it was in the nature of things, that this should be gradually less and less understood and used, both at home and abroad, as the Egyptian polity gradually declined, and sunk under the Grecian and Roman arms. As this was the only part of the Egyptian system of writing, which was peculiar, it was that, to which the Roman travellers and philosophers turned their attention, and that also, which the Egyptian scholars, of a later date, such as Horapollo, endeavored to illustrate.

With the revival of learning, all tradition of the alphabetical character of hieroglyphics had passed away. They were regarded, what to the eye they evidently seem, a system of figurative and symbolical signs. All attempts to explain them proceeded on this assumption and all failed. Father Kircher wrote six folios on the subject, surcharged with all the erudition of ancient and modern days, aided by personal inspection of all the Egyptian works at Rome; and how utterly baseless, how laboriously absurd was his entire scheme of interpretation, can only be felt by an example, which though frequently quoted before, cannot be omitted here. On one of the obelisks at Rome, called the Pamphilian, is a group of hieroglyphical characters, enclosed in an oblong ring, (according to a practice which will be hereafter alluded to,) which has been found by Champollion to be the Greek words corresponding to *the Em-*

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peror Domitian Augustus. Out of these three words, Father Kircher has made a sentence in Latin, from which most of the modern critics recoil in horror, leaving it as they find it, but which may be guessed at, about as follows, 'the beneficent lord of generation, fourfold powerful in the heavenly realm, transmits the air, through Mophta the genial airy moisture, to Ammon, most powerful in the lower world, who, by the statue and appropriate ceremonies, is induced to exercise his power.'

Absurdities like these continued to be broached on this subject, down to the present day. As late as 1821, an essay was published in Genoa, containing a new translation of the Pamphilian obelisk, in which it was declared to be a monument of 'the triumph over the ungodly, obtained by the worshippers of the thrice holy Trinity, and of the Eternal Word, under the sway of the sixth and seventh kings of Egypt, in the sixth century after the deluge.'* In the like spirit, the astrological symbols, composing what was called the zodiac of Denderah, have been pronounced within the present day, a Psalm of David.

Here let us consider for a moment the capriciousness of human destiny. Language, as we all know, fluctuating and evanescent as it is in its forms, is in its substance all but indestructible. The nations of the Germanic stock, in the North of Europe, speak substantially the same tongue, which was spoken by their fathers, in the days of Tacitus. In the mountains of Wales and in the highlands of Scotland, in the fastnesses of Ireland and in Britanny, the dialect of the Celts has been handed down and is yet a living tongue, as it was when Julius Cæsar invaded Britain. The Greek peasant in the Ægean Islands, calls most of the common objects of life, by the names, by which Homer called them; and rouses himself and his brethren to arms, with a cry of Δεῦτε, παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Some relics of the language of Cicero have been preserved, by Roman colonists, who call themselves Roumuni, on the banks of the Danube and the plains of Wallachia. The descendants of the Cimbri, who were conquered by Marius, though for ages embosomed in an Italian population, are still recognized in the neighborhood of Vicenza, by a language retaining its northern radicals. The Bedoween rover, who never had a dwelling, of which the next wave of sand does not efface the traces, ad-

* Champollion, Précis I., p. 437.

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dresses the traveller in a dialect of the Arabic, not more unlike the primitive records of that tongue than the Italian is to the Latin; and so does the descendant of the Mahometan conquerors, in the farthest island of the Indian Archipelago. The Polish Jew keeps his accounts and conducts his correspondence, at the Leipsic fair, in a language and character, which would have been intelligible to Ezra; and if reliance is to be placed on the late investigations of the Continental philologists, there is a similarity between the languages of the Teutonic stock and the sacred dialect of Hindostan, which must have had its origin in a consanguinity of nations, dating from a period anterior to all our historical traditions. So permanently does a language take root!

It would have been thought *à priori*, that Egypt bade fairest of all the nations of the earth, through this medium of communication, to hand down the memorials of her civilization to posterity. Originally contriving, and never wholly abandoning a written language, consisting not of arbitrary signs but of images of things, and therefore less likely (as it would seem, on first thought) to be forgotten in the lapse of ages, or become unintelligible to other races of men, she appeared, even in this, to have possessed herself of a preservative against oblivion. Not resting here, she recorded the names of her rulers, the fortune of their wars, the events of their history, on shafts of solid granite, on the architraves and pillars of massive temples, and on the walls of palaces. Some of the obelisks are still perfect, some of the temples can scarcely be called ruinous; and the characters inscribed upon both are often as fresh, sharp, and legible as they were ages ago. But till the last ten years, they told no tale to the inquisitive mind of man. A horror of being forgotten,—of passing away from the presence and memory of men,—seems to have been the prominent trait in the ancient Egyptian character. Besides the stupendous structures, to which we have alluded, charged and crowded with legends, which, as far as the characters in which they are written are concerned, have bidden defiance to three thousand years and more, the Egyptians carried to a curious perfection the art of embalming the bodies of the deceased. Having thus secured a disgusting permanence to the mortal remains, and prevented the dust from returning to dust, the mummy was often deposited in a sarcophagus of granite or alabaster, covered within and without with hieroglyphics; and a roll of linen cloth, also filled

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with the same characters, was often deposited in the same receptacle. Hundreds of these rolls are in existence. All the great museums in Europe contain these sarcophagi; and yet it is but a few years since any reasonable hope has been entertained by scholars of extracting their meaning.

When we compare this with what has happened to the records of Greek and Roman literature, we cannot but be struck with the contrast. A purely alphabetical character would seem in itself a less perfect representation (to say the least) of all sensible objects, and of all qualities and relations, capable of being compared or identified with the known properties of natural bodies. When made use of in books or tablets, of wood, linen, parchment or paper, they would seem less likely to survive the casualties of time, than characters inscribed on temples or obelisks, built, as the event has proved, for other ages; or on rolls preserved by art and by their place of deposit from decay and destruction. The opposite fortune of the two sorts of record is extraordinary enough. The book of the law of Moses, the oldest book in any language, although in the decline of the Jewish polity all but lost, being preserved but in a single copy, buried in the rubbish of the decaying temple,* is now the familiar reading of Christians, in the four quarters of the world. Not all its scholars have yet, (or at least not till the present day,) decyphered the legends of those obelisks, which were braving the storms of time, in front of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, at the moment, when the book of the law, a simple roll of parchment, lay buried in the ruins of the temple at Jerusalem. The fairness of this contrast may be objected to, on the ground of super-human agency. Let us take, then, the poems of Homer. They are now read in the schools of Europe, of European India, and of this continent undiscovered when they were produced. Nearly three thousand years ago, a blind old man chanted these poems about the Grecian islands. Whether *he* ever committed them to writing is disputed. If he did, it is probable that they were soon dispersed in separate portions, and four hundred years after the death of their author, collected from the recitation of the rhapsodists and committed to writing, by the liberality of the Athenian princes. The works of Aristotle, written on parchment, were shortly after his death, buried by his heirs, to preserve them from the rapacity

* 2 Chronicles, xxxiv. 14.

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of the kings of Pergamus, who adopted a compendious method of filling their library. A hundred and sixty years they lay forgotten in the ground, exposed to dampness and mildew. They became, in the lapse of time, the manual of learned men in Europe and Asia, the theme of speculation for ages, and they are now in every classical library in the world. The text of the Roman law, the Code and Pandects of Justinian, existed in an entire form, (such at least is the popular opinion,) but in one copy, which lay lost in the convents of an obscure trading town, on the gulf of Salerno. The courts of the greater part of Christendom administer justice from the text of this manuscript at the present day. In consequence of the dearness of parchment and the barbarity of the times, it was the custom, in the dark ages, to erase one writing from a roll of parchment, and substitute another. In this way, some of the finest productions of Grecian and Roman wit; nay, the books of Scripture themselves, were often effaced, to make way for the epistles of a church father, and the legends of a saint. Modern ingenuity has found out the means of restoring the *first* writing, after it had been thus scratched out, and written over; and the literary journals of the day are continually reporting some new discovery of books and authors, thus lost and thus retrieved. Nay more than all, a stream of burning lava, in a state of fusion, covered the city of Herculaneum, on the bay of Naples, seventeen hundred years ago. The lava settled over some parts of the city, to the depth of fifty feet. When we think of the destructive power of such a mass of molten rocks and metal, so long as it remains hot; of the situation of a manuscript of paper, submerged in this fiery inundation; and then left for ages under a solid mass of almost impenetrable rock, at a depth of fifty feet; and reflect that paper manuscripts thus inundated, thus soldered down as it were into the solid rock, have been dug up, unfolded, and printed; some of them works, of which no other copies had survived,* and compare these and the other facts alluded to, with the fate of the Egyptian records—perfect, entire, engraven on walls and shafts of stone, which will stand while the earth does, and still as fresh as when first inscribed, and till the last ten years utterly unintelligible,—we have, perhaps, one of the strongest contrasts of fortune, which literary history has recorded.

* Such as Epicurus and Philodemus.

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This strange oblivion, which crept over the Egyptian literature, to the degree that men could not even comprehend the general nature, and far less the import of a mass of written records, spread before them in the most imposing and enduring form, has, of course, as far as original authorities are concerned, had the effect of almost wiping out from the annals of the world the early history of Egypt. One authority only, entitled to the name of original, has survived, mutilated indeed, but still valuable, and brought into new credit by M. Champollion's researches. In the reign of the second Ptolemy, who came to the throne in an enlightened age, about three centuries before our Saviour, Manetho, an Egyptian priest, was employed to search the archives of state, and examine the monuments of antiquity, and from them compose the history of the country from the beginning. In the composition of this important work, he was aided by Eratosthenes, one of the most distinguished of the geographers of Greece. Eratosthenes was charged with the preparation of that part of the work, which related to the Theban dynasties. The knowledge of the hieroglyphics was still in preservation, as has abundantly been proved by the splendid discoveries of M. Champollion, and as we shall presently see. The nature of many of the public records, (the inscriptions on the walls of temples and on obelisks,) prevented those frauds, which are often practised in forging pretended ancient papers. We may accordingly suppose, that the work of Manetho contained the ancient history of the country, authentic as far back as these permanent and substantial records ran, and such as, in his day, it was believed and understood to be, in reference to times still more ancient. This work, in the original, is unfortunately lost; and small fragments of it only remain. Of these, some are found in the form of citations in the work of the Jewish historian Josephus, written against Apion. But our principal knowledge of the lost work of Manetho, is derived from a different source. In the third century of the Christian era, Julius Africanus, a father of the church, undertook a chronology of the world from the creation. In that portion, which related to Egypt, he followed Manetho. The Chronicle of Julius Africanus is lost, but in the fourth century, Eusebius, another father of the Christian church, wrote a similar Chronicle, in which he drew the Egyptian annals from Julius Africanus. Of the original Greek of the Chronicle of Eusebius, a few fragments only remain; but a Latin translation of it by St. Jerome,

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and an Armenian version, lately published, have descended to us. Besides this, in the ninth century, while the Chronicles both of Julius and Eusebius were extant, a Greek monk, George Syncellus, composed a new chronicle, on the plan of these ancient works. The Chronicle of Syncellus is entire, and from this we chiefly derive our knowledge of the Egyptian antiquities, as related by Manetho.

We ought, perhaps, to mention, by anticipation, another singular document, which has been called a translation of Manetho, the tablet of Abydos. The name of *translation* of Manetho can, of course, only be given, by a pretty violent figure of speech, to an inscription on the front of a temple, containing at most a series of perhaps twenty different names. This inscription, however, is exceedingly curious. It was found by Mr. William Bankes, while exploring the ruins of Abydos, a city of ancient Egypt, on the western bank of the Nile, between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth degrees of north latitude. It is a series of forty rings or ovals, (containing each a name,) arranged in three horizontal lines. The two first lines contain the honorary titles of the Egyptian Pharaohs, who preceded Rameses the Great (the Sesostris of the Greeks); and the third line contains exclusively the name and titles of this renowned conqueror.

This list contains only the *prænomina* or honorary titles of the Pharaohs, who preceded Rameses, and would not, therefore, of itself have thrown much light on history. But M. Champollion has, with infinite labor, compared these titles, as found on the tablet of Abydos, without the proper names of the princes to whom they belong, with the same titles as found on other monuments in connexion *with* the proper names, and has thus constructed what may be called the *complement* of the tablet of Abydos, and has found, that this tablet presents, in that part which is legible, the series of the Egyptian sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty of Manetho.

This tablet was first copied by Mr. Bankes, and by him brought to Europe. It was subsequently copied by M. Caillaud, and from his drawing, it is engraved in the Atlas to the second letter of M. Champollion to the Duke of Blacas d' Aulps.*

* See on the subject of this tablet the Marquis of Spineto's lectures, pages 36 and 205; M. Champollion's first letter to the Duke of Blacas, page 15, and his second letter, page 12; also his *Précis du Systeme Hieroglyphique*, page 295; and the Edinburgh Review, in the masterly

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It may be proper, before quite passing from this part of the subject, to allude to the work of Horapollo, called *Hieroglyphica*. This work has descended to us in Greek, but purports to be a translation executed by Philippus, from an Egyptian original. Neither the age nor the history of Horapollo, nor of his translator is known. His work is an explication of the symbolical purport of certain hieroglyphical emblems. Mr. Stuart has given a specimen of this author's explications, in the appendix to his work, page 215, to which we refer the reader. According to him, a *bee* signifies a people obedient to their king, the *fore-parts of a lion* power, an *asp* the power of life and death. Such expositions, being given without any intimation on the

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article already cited, (and of which several pages are taken without acknowledgment from M. Champollion's last chapter,) in a note to page 143. We cannot but think that the Edinburgh reviewer does M. Champollion considerable injustice in this note, as well as in several passages in the article. We have already alluded to the unfortunate controversy, which existed between M. Champollion and Dr. Young, (now deceased) on the claim to the priority of this great discovery. We shall state the main point, in this controversy, in a subsequent part of the text of our article. In the note alluded to, the Edinburgh reviewer charges M. Champollion with a want of ingenuousness, of which we see no proofs, touching this tablet of Abydos. 'M. Champollion,' says the reviewer, 'in his letter to the Duke de Blacas, published in the same year with the *Précis*, expressly describes the monument in question, as *un tableau precieux, dont une copie est depuis plusieurs années dans les portefeuilles de M. W. Bankes en Angleterre;* but he cautiously avoids dropping so much as a hint, which might lead his readers to suspect, that the discovery was due to the exertions of Mr. Bankes; and in his *Précis* he certiorates his readers, that it is a hieroglyphic text of the greatest interest, *et dont le dessein a été apporté par notre courageux voyageur M. Caillaud,* thus leaving them to infer that the discovery was due to that traveller. This literary dishonesty, in every case in which the pretensions of Englishmen are concerned, &c.' There is too much readiness to find fault here; especially as the *reviewer suppresses* a part of the passage, which he quotes from M. Champollion's first letter, which puts quite a different face on the matter. We give it entire. 'A precious tablet, of which a copy has for several years been in the portfolios of Mr. Bankes, in England. *I owed the first knowledge of its existence to the friendship of Dr. Young; but soon after, I was able to study it upon a copy, made also on the spot by our countryman, M. Caillaud,* &c.' Here we think full justice is done to all the parties; and the reviewer, by suppressing the lines in italics is we think obnoxious to very nearly the same charge, that he makes against M. Champollion. This important tablet is contained in Mr. Salt's Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics; a work in which several happy applications are made of M. Champollion's alphabet.

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part of Horapollo, that the hieroglyphical characters were generally phonetic, made his treatise a source of error, rather than instruction. It contributed to keep the student on a wrong path; and gave him no clue whatever to the nature of the subject he was investigating.

We cannot forbear noticing here an ingenious conjectural illustration of a passage in the Old Testament, founded on one of the interpretations, which Horapollo has given of Hieroglyphical Symbols. It is related, in the Book of Isaiah, that the army of Sennacherib, invading Egypt, was destroyed by the Angel of the Lord, in the night, to the number of 185,000 men. What particular mode of destruction is intended by this expression, does not appear. It is such language as the sacred writers usually employ, to describe, what in more modern phraseology of import substantially the same, would be called a great judgment. Herodotus informs us that the destruction of the Assyrian troops was owing to the circumstance, that in the course of the night, the strings of their bows, and the straps of their shields were eaten by mice, and they were thus left defenceless against the Egyptians. Herodotus adds, that a statue of the Egyptian king, under whom this victory was achieved, was, when he was in Egypt, standing in the temple of Vulcan, holding a mouse in his hand with this inscription, *Look on me, and learn to fear the gods.* Horapollo informs us, that a mouse was the symbol of destruction; by what association of ideas, cannot now be traced. As such it formed an appropriate part of the accompaniments of the statue erected in honor of the king, who destroyed the Assyrian army. The priest, who explained the statue to Herodotus, from ignorance or to tax the Grecian traveller's credulity, may have attempted to point out an actual connexion between the figure of the mouse and the destruction of the army; or Herodotus may have misunderstood him, as calling the mouse the agent and not the symbol of destruction, and drawn on his own ingenuity for the *modus in quo.* This ingenious illustration is proposed by the late celebrated Mr. Eichhorn.

The reader, who is aware that of the several obelisks at Rome, there is one, of the transportation and erection of which a particular account has been given by Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman historian, accompanied with an explanation of its hieroglyphics, by a Greek version, will expect us to account for the fact, that no aid has been rendered by this version, toward

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decyphering the characters, of which it purports to be a translation. Unfortunately it appears from the researches of M. Champollion, that this version of Hermapion, though in his judgment obviously a correct version of the legend of some obelisk, does not belong to any obelisk, now known to be in existence. M. Champollion's discoveries enable him to re-translate into the hieroglyphical language a considerable part of Hermapion's Greek, and it is satisfactorily shown, that it belongs neither to the obelisk opposite the *porta del popolo* at Rome, nor to that before St. John Lateran, nor to any other of these works known to be in existence.* It is a singularly untoward accident, that Ammianus, in extracting probably from a work, which contained the interpretation of several obelisks, should have happened to fix upon a translation, belonging to an obelisk, that has not survived the effects of time. Ammianus wrote his history toward the close of the fourth century. Hermapion's work must have been then extant, and it is not perhaps extravagant to hope, that it may yet be recovered.

Meantime, however, if M. Champollion's discoveries proceed as they have begun, we shall be able to dispense with Hermapion. That light, which neither temples nor obelisks were able to cast on the nature of the characters, with which they were inscribed, in the ancient and glorious days of the Egyptian monarchy, has, by the sagacity of modern scholars, been made to shine from a mutilated fragment of a votive block, of no historical interest in itself, and dating from the age of the Grecian sovereigns of Egypt. Of the curious observations and comparisons, by which this has been effected, it is more than time that we should speak. Most of the facts we are about to state have been repeated in almost all the respectable literary journals of the day. But as the discoveries of M. Champollion are perhaps the most extraordinary of a merely literary kind, which the history of modern learning contains, our readers will not perhaps be displeased with a brief re-statement of the main points of the subject.

Napoleon, in his expedition to Egypt, was attended by a large company of learned men, the result of whose observations is embodied, in the magnificent work on Egypt, published under the auspices of the French government. It is a singular fact, however, that by these *savans*, much as they did to illustrate

* Champollion, *Précis*, page 187.

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almost every other point of Egyptian history or antiquities, nothing was done to promote the progress of hieroglyphical science, beyond the accurate transcription of the legends existing on the ancient works in that country. But in digging for the foundation of Fort St. Julian, near Rosetta, a huge broken block of black stone, covered with characters, was discovered. It was appropriated by General Menou to himself, and on the capitulation of the French army to the English, it was claimed as the General's private property, and as such not subject to the fortune of war. It was, however, taken possession of by the English, and eventually transferred to the British Museum, where it still is.

The society of antiquaries in England undertook the investigation of the stone, which bore on its surface three inscriptions, standing one under another; the first in hieroglyphical characters, the second in an unknown character not hieroglyphical, and the third in Greek; and a hasty perusal of the latter showed, in its conclusion, that the inscription on the stone was an honorary inscription to Ptolemy Epiphanes, ordered to be set up in the Egyptian temples, *In sacred, enchorial* (or native,) and *Greek characters.** This disclosed the very interesting fact, that the learned world was at length in the possession of a hieroglyphical legend, with a Greek translation, and with another translation, in an unknown character, and perhaps an unknown language. An engraving of this inscription was prepared by the society of antiquaries, and distributed to the learned bodies throughout the world, among others the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. Heyne at Göttingen took it in hand, and furnished a masterly translation of the Greek, with a Latin commentary. This was no easy task, as the stone was not free from mutilation and the subject-matter almost wholly new. His translation, however, was published in the transactions of the Antiquarian Society, and the mode in which it is treated by Dr. Young, (a man himself of matchless sagacity, and of quite as much candor as his neighbors) shows how hard it is to do justice to a foreigner. 'Several of the best scholars of the age,' says he, 'in particular Porson and Heyne, had employed themselves in completing and illustrating the Greek text, which constituted the third part of the inscription: and it so happened, that, although no person acquainted with both these

* ΙΕΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΧΩΡΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ.

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critics, could hesitate to give the general preference for acuteness of observation, felicity of conjecture, and soundness of judgment to the English professor, yet, in this instance, the superior industry and vigilance of the German had given him decidedly the advantage, with respect to two or three passages, in which their translations *happen* to differ.'*

Now this is really hard. Here is a piece of work, in its nature requiring not so much 'industry,' as 'acuteness of observation, felicity of conjecture, and soundness of judgment.' Porson and Heyne undertake it, and Heyne, by admission, carries the palm. Unable to disguise this, it cannot be candidly admitted, without laying in a vague and sweeping claim in favor of Porson of general superiority, in precisely those qualities, by which he should have gained the victory, on this occasion; and even ascribing it to *chance*, at the end of the sentence, in the middle of which it is attributed to vigilance and industry.

The Greek text of this inscription fills five quarto pages of the transactions of the Antiquarian Society, which will show that this interesting document is of very considerable extent. The next attempt of scholars was made upon the middle inscription, called in the language of the Greek *enchorial*, that is, the character of the country. This character was wholly unknown; although since recognized on Egyptian manuscripts, written on papyrus, which had not then attracted the attention of learned men. Not only was the character unknown, but the language was uncertain. It was presumed to be the language current in Egypt, in the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes, but nothing in this language had descended to modern times; and the Coptic versions of the Scriptures, made in an early age of Christianity, were the nearest approach to it. It is, however, generally admitted by scholars, that these Coptic versions are substantially in the language of ancient Egypt. M. Quatremère de Quincy has written a work, in which this is attempted to be proved; but it is well known, though the substratum of languages is permanent as we have seen above, that in the lapse of centuries, all languages, especially such as are destitute of a cultivated written literature, (which comparatively with the Greek was the case with the Egyptian) undergo great changes. The Latin of the Vulgate certainly would not have been intelligible at Rome, in the days of Psammeticus, king of Egypt.

* Dr. Young's account of some recent discoveries in hieroglyphical literature, page 8.

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The attempts to decypher the enchorial inscription were not very successful. M. Sylvestre de Sacy of Paris, one of the most distinguished oriental scholars of the present day, was only able to detect the words Alexandria and Alexander, from their occurrence in corresponding places of the Greek and enchorial inscriptions. Mr. Akerblad, a learned Swede, residing at Rome as the Minister of his Government, pursued the task with great ardor and partial success. He constructed an alphabet of the enchorial character, which has not, however, in all points stood the test of farther investigation.

The first person who threw any real light on this subject, was the late most ingenious Dr. Thomas Young. His first efforts were made upon the enchorial inscription, which, by placing it side by side with the Greek, guided by the corresponding recurrence of the proper names, and employing Mr. Akerblad's alphabet in decyphering them, he succeeded in interpreting. That Dr. Young's procedure, however, with this inscription must have been partly conjectural, and as far as respects the nature of the language in which it is concerned, superficial and incorrect, appears from the circumstance, that he considered the enchorial character to be only a sort of running-hand of the hieroglyphical, and, like that, an *ideographic*, and not an *alphabetic* character. Dr. Young's first views on this subject were published in the *Museum Criticum* in 1815. In the letters published in this journal, he laid down several principles, some of which have, and some of which have not, been confirmed by subsequent discoveries, and of all of them he observes, that they had not, to his knowledge, been established and placed on record by any other person dead or living. Two of the propositions, which have been sustained, are, that the hieroglyphic characters included in oval rings are proper names, and that Ptolemy is the only proper name to be found in that part of the hieroglyphical inscription which remains; for it had by this time been ascertained that the stone was mutilated, and that a considerable portion of the hieroglyphical inscription was wanting. The first of these propositions had, however, been advanced by Zoega, a learned Dane, in a work of stupendous erudition, *de Obeliscis*.

But all that had hitherto been done by himself or others, was far surpassed by Dr. Young, in his admirable essay on Egypt, in the Supplement to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, in which he reviewed the whole ground of his former researches, and

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succeeded in decyphering the name of Ptolemy, the only proper name contained in the hieroglyphical portion of the Rosetta stone. This is the great discovery of Dr. Young in hieroglyphics, on the ground of which a priority is claimed for him over M. Champollion, in establishing the fact, that the hieroglyphical character is an alphabetical character, and in furnishing the series of the alphabet. No controversy, since the days of Newton and Leibnitz, has been agitated with so much acrimony, between the learned of England and the continent. And there is not a little similarity in the history of the two cases. As the English claim for Sir Isaac Newton the priority in point of time over Leibnitz, so they claim it for Dr. Young over Champollion. They charge Leibnitz with having had a private communication of Sir Isaac Newton's fluxions, and they charge M. Champollion with having stolen the idea of his system from Dr. Young. It is also undoubtedly true, that if Sir Isaac Newton first invented, Leibnitz first published the new method to the world. And it is not less true, that if Dr. Young gave the first hint, Champollion first distinctly proposed the alphabetical system. In the zeal and success with which the two discoveries were pursued, the parallel fails. Sir Isaac went far beyond Leibnitz in the application of the new found Analysis; but Dr. Young, long before his death, abandoned his discovery to M. Champollion. We may hope that a century hence, some British scholar will arise, capable of imitating, in a history of this controversy, the dignified candor, with which Mr. Playfair, in his preliminary discourse to the fourth volume of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, does justice to the rival claims of Newton and Leibnitz. We hope our scientific readers will not disdain the comparison of the two controversies; for if the mathematical discoveries of Leibnitz and Newton are the most brilliant which the modern world has produced in exact science, those of Young and Champollion are entitled to the same rank in critical learning; and are destined to throw, we doubt not, a flood of light on a chapter of the history of mankind, hitherto almost a blank.

In the view which we take of this subject, truth compels us to state, that though we think the germ of M. Champollion's discoveries lies in Dr. Young's analysis of the name of Ptolemy, yet Dr. Young himself does not appear to us to have perceived the extent to which it might be carried, nor to have made the deductions from it which Champollion did. In other words, we

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cannot find in Dr. Young's essay, the broad, plain proposition, *that the hieroglyphics are phonetic or alphabetic characters*, and we think we shall make it pretty clear, that he did not so conceive them, and that M. Champollion made this discovery; and we shall, to prove this, depend mainly on the evidence of Dr. Young himself and his friends.

In the Essay on Egypt alluded to, after an able discussion of several points in Egyptian literature, Dr. Young passes to an analysis of the Rosetta stone, relating the steps which he had pursued, by juxta-position, to bring the parts of the hieroglyphical and enchorial inscriptions, against the corresponding portion of the Greek, and thus ascertain the meaning of the two former. Dr. Young goes through this topic, without hinting that he had discovered any phonetic quality in the hieroglyphical or enchorial signs. He then proceeds to 'Sect. vii. *Rudiments of a hieroglyphical vocabulary.*' He begins with the deities, and proceeds with kings, private persons, animals, inanimate objects, attributes and actions, relations, time, numbers, *sounds;* and collects, in the whole, two hundred and eighteen hieroglyphic characters, or groups of characters, of which, from various monuments and sources of comparison, he considers himself as having discovered the import. In going through with all these hieroglyphical emblems, it is no where distinctly stated by Dr. Young, that any of them are phonetic. M. Champollion rejects one hundred and forty-one of the two hundred and eighteen groups, as wholly mistaken. In Dr. Young's list, No. 58 is the name of *Ptolemy*. He introduces it without any remark, by which it would appear that he had made any discovery relative to this word, which he had not made in every other. He remarks, that 'in *this and a few other proper names*, it is extremely interesting to trace some of the steps, by which alphabetical writing seems to have grown out of hieroglyphical.' Here, no doubt, Dr. Young's mind trembled on the verge of the discovery; but surely this is not the language of a man announcing the brilliant discovery that the hieroglyphical signs were alphabetical characters. He proceeds to compare the process by which foreign names are spelt in hieroglyphics, with that by which the Chinese do the same thing. As the Chinese character is repeatedly stated by Dr. Young not to be alphabetic, this comparison shows his view of hieroglyphic emblems. He then proceeds to analyze the name of Ptolemy, in the following manner. We have, with the permission of Mr. Isaac

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Stuart, and the publishers of his work, introduced, for the better illustration of the subject, the first of the two plates, prepared by Mr. Stuart, for his translation of Greppo.

'The square block and the semi-circle,' says Dr. Young, 'answer invariably, in all the manuscripts, to characters resembling the P and T of Akerblad, which are found at the beginning of the enchorial name.

'The next character, which seems to be a kind of knot, is not essentially necessary, being often omitted in the sacred characters, and always in the enchorial.

'The lion corresponds to the LO of Akerblad; a lion being always expressed by a similar character in the manuscripts; an oblique line crossed standing for the body, and an erect line for the tail; this was probably read not L but OLE; although in more modern Coptic, OILI is translated ram; we have also EIUL, stag, and the figure of the stag becomes, in the running-hand, something like this of the lion.

'The next character is known to have some reference to 'place,' in Coptic MA; and it seems to have been read either MA or simply M; and this character is always expressed in the running-hand, by the M of Akerblad's alphabet.

'The two feathers, whatever their natural meaning may have been, answer to the three parallel lines of the enchorial text, and they seem, in more than one instance, to have been read I or E.

'The bent line probably signified *great*, and was read OSH or OS; for the Coptic SHEI seems to have been nearly equivalent to the Greek SIGMA.

'Putting all these elements together, we have precisely PTOLEMAIOS, the Greek name; or perhaps PTOLEMEOS, as it would more naturally be called in Coptic.'

Such is the analysis of Ptolemy, which Dr. Young proposes, as an instance of 'the *few* proper names, in which some of the steps may be traced, by which alphabetical writing seems to have arisen out of the hieroglyphical.' He then proceeds, after an intermediate paragraph, to his No. 60, which is a similar analysis of BERENICE, and in which he remarks, 'we seem to have another specimen of *syllabic* and *alphabetical* writing combined, in a manner not extremely unlike the ludicrous mixture of words and things, with which children are sometimes amused.' In his analysis of this name, Dr. Young was less successful than in that of Ptolemy.

We shall hereafter compare M. Champollion's analysis with Dr. Young's. We will only here observe,

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1°. That Dr. Young proposes it *en passant*, in two out of about two hundred and eighteen paragraphs, without any intimation that there was any thing novel or important in it.

2°. He proposes his mode of resolving these two proper names, as specimens of the manner, in which, 'in a few proper names,' the traces of a transition from hieroglyphic to alphabet writing can be perceived.

3°. He calls it a mixture of syllabic and alphabetic characters, and in fact reads one of the characters in Ptolemy OLE, and one in Berenice BIR; the former being, in reality, only an L, and the latter only a B.

4°. He proceeds, whenever he can, by identifying the hieroglyphic figures with Akerblad's enchorial characters; and it is Dr. Young's repeatedly declared opinion, that the enchorial is *not* an alphabetical character.

5°. Dr. Young makes no attempt to decypher any other of the numerous proper names, of which he gives the hieroglyphic symbols. Is it conceivable that, if he had imagined he had hit upon the key to a regular alphabet, and detected eight or nine letters, he should not have applied it to the attempt to read some of the other numerous names, which he interprets? For instance, his number 48 is Psammeticus; (totally mistaken, by the way, see the real hieroglyphical emblem in Champollion's general table, No. 121, 122;) could he have avoided examining, whether the first sign of Ptolemy was the first of Psammeticus, and whether an M was to be found in each, in a corresponding place? The same remark may be made of Rameses. Dr. Young's hieroglyphical emblem of this Pharaoh is also wholly erroneous. The true reading of this great Egyptian name is in Champollion's plate XVI, No. 4. But how could Dr. Young have avoided the attempt to decypher it, had he supposed himself in possession of the key?

6°. If there be any doubt left on the subject, we think it must be removed, by what Dr. Young says, at the end of his hieroglyphical vocabulary, under the head of 'sounds.' It is as follows:—

'The *phonetic characters*, according to the traces which may be discovered in the words Berenice, Ptolemy, Greek, and some others, will afford something like a hieroglyphic alphabet, *which however is merely collected as a specimen of the mode of expressing sounds, in some particular cases, and not as having been universally employed, where sounds were required.*'

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This is absolutely *all*, that Dr. Young says *expressly* on the point of the hieroglyphics being an alphabetical representation of sounds, and with this he dismisses the subject.

But one or two more considerations will, we think, settle this matter. M. Champollion is charged, civilly by Dr. Young himself, but most opprobriously by many of his countrymen, with having pillaged from Dr. Young the discovery, that the hieroglyphics are phonetic, that is, alphabetic. No one makes this charge in rounder terms, than the author of the interesting life of Dr. Young, in the Annual Biography for 1830. In order to convict M. Champollion of inconsistency, this author cites a sentence from a work of M. Champollion, published in 1821, wherein he says, 'the hieroglyphics are the signs of things and not the signs of names.' As Dr. Young's article on Egypt was published in 1819, and as M. Champollion (according to this biographer) held two years after, that the hieroglyphics were not phonetic but symbolic, it would appear that Dr. Young had the priority. But having made this use of the quotation, it seems to have crossed the biographer's mind, that he had proved a little too much. For the next year, 1822, M. de Champollion published his letter to M. Dacier, in which the phonetic theory is displayed at length. If then two years after the article on Egypt appeared, M. Champollion still held hieroglyphics not to be phonetic, but the next year had made the discovery that they were phonetic, it would create a very strong presumption, that that discovery was not borrowed by M. Champollion from the article of Dr. Young; and an equally strong one that it was not in the article. To avoid this awkward consequence, this biographer says, 'it might be proved, if it were necessary, that in this interval of one year between his two works, M. Champollion had read and studied the article on Egypt.' If it were necessary? Why this is the turning point of the charge. You say, that in 1821 Champollion confesses he did not understand that the hieroglyphics were phonetic, and that in 1822 he published a learned essay, demonstrating that they were phonetic. Since then Dr. Young's book had been published, ever since 1819, unless it can be proved, that Champollion read it between 1821 and 1822, *and not before*, the whole charge falls to the ground. Now it so happens that Champollion had read the essay two years before the letter to M. Dacier appeared; at least he is charged with it by another of the English critics, the writer of the Edinburgh Re-

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view,* and this last writer maintains that 'M. Champollion was in the knowledge of Dr. Young's opinions, at almost every stage of his progress.' If then M. Champollion still taught in 1821, that the hieroglyphics were not phonetic, a year after he had read the article on Egypt, and being in possession of Dr. Young's opinions, it proves that he did not derive from Dr. Young or his article the doctrine that they were phonetic.

If this is not yet plain to demonstration, we will try to make it plainer. M. Champollion's letter to M. Dacier appeared in 1822, and was reviewed in the Quarterly Review for October, 1822, and January 1823. M. Champollion, in this essay, completely established the phonetic character of the hieroglyphics and decyphered a large number of words, in the most satisfactory manner. Now what was the judgment passed by the Quarterly reviewer on the state of hieroglyphical science, after all this? He declares that the characters are alphabetical, only in writing proper names foreign to Egypt, resembling in this the similar use made of the monosyllabic characters of the Chinese, —he denies that even this use was made of the hieroglyphics, till after the domination of the Greeks, and declares that in 'the knowledge of Egyptian symbols used to represent ideas, *which the hieroglyphics unquestionably are*, M. Champollion's alphabet does not advance us a single step'!† So that it seems that, four years after Dr. Young had discovered, that the hieroglyphics were a phonetic character, and one year after M. Champollion had pillaged this discovery from Dr. Young, the very man, who charges him in the strongest terms, with the theft, teaches that no such discovery had been made, and consequently, we presume, none such had been pillaged. We mention this, with greater emphasis, because to our misfortune, we originally formed our own notions of M. Champollion's works, from this unfriendly English review. M. Champollion's writings are exceedingly rare in this country, and did not fall in our way till our opinions had received a pretty strong bias from this

* Vol. XLV. page 121.

† This reviewer uses also the following polite and generous language: 'Such being the case, we may say, without at all derogating from the merit of M. Champollion's indefatigable labors, that whether we weigh their value in the scale of utility or novelty, we find little or nothing in them that can repay him, for the persevering siege, which he has conducted against the pothooks of Egypt, for just so many years as the Greeks sat down before Troy.'

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very article, in which M. Champollion is charged in one breath, with having purloined a discovery of Dr. Young, while in the next breath, it is declared that there is no such discovery by any body.

We now, in justice to M. Champollion, present them his remarks on Dr. Young's analysis of the word Ptolemy, that our readers may compare the mode, in which these two distinguished critics have proceeded.

'The square block and the semi-circle'—says Dr. Young—'answer *invariably* in all the manuscripts, to characters resembling the P and T of Akerblad, which are found at the beginning of the enchorial name.'

'This is true,' observes M. Champollion, 'only of the semi-circle or segment of a sphere. I have never seen, in any of the hieratic manuscripts, which I have studied, that the square resembled M. Akerblad's P. * * *

'My position, on the contrary is, that the square is proved to be the letter P, because it is found in the corresponding place, in the word Cleopatra, and that the segment of a circle is shown to be T, *first*, because in all the hieroglyphic texts, the feminine article, which is T, is represented by this segment, and *second*, because it represents this consonant in numerous Greek and Roman names, whose hieroglyphical form has been decyphered.'

In other words M. Champollion pursued the inductive method, and ascertained the alphabetical value of these hieroglyphical characters, by examining the different words where they occur.

'The next character, says Dr. Young' (we are quoting M. Champollion) 'which seems to be a kind of knot, is not essentially necessary, being often omitted in the sacred characters and always in the enchorial.'

'I am ignorant,' remarks M. Champollion, on this position of Dr. Young, 'on what foundation the learned Englishman has felt himself authorized to declare, that the third hieroglyphic sign, in the name of Ptolemy, is not essentially necessary, and why he omitted to examine its import. I have found it omitted but once, in the numerous instances in which I have recognized the name of Ptolemy, on Egyptian monuments, although it is sometimes transposed with the next character; and the corresponding demotic (enchorial) character, instead of being always *omitted* is always *expressed*. Dr. Young's error proceeded from considering it to be a part of the enchorial character, which precedes it.

'In my system, the character, which Dr. Young calls a *knot*

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and considers useless, but which I should rather call a fruit, or a flower with a bent stalk, is recognized as the vowel O, and as such fills the fourth place in the word CLEOPATRA.'

The group of characters No. 2, in the plate, is the word Cleopatra.*

'The lion, says Dr. Young' (we still cite M. Champollion) 'is the LO of Akerblad; a lion being always expressed by a similar character in the manuscripts; an oblique line crossed standing for the body, and an erect line for the tail; this probably was read not LO but OLE.

'It is evident,' continues M. Champollion, 'that the learned Englishman at the fourth character, in order to read this name, of which the two first signs, PT, seemed to him *alphabetical*, and after suppressing the third as useless, is obliged to suppose that the fourth, the lion, is not an *alphabetical* sign like the two first, but a *dissyllabic character*, equivalent to OLE. Such a mixture of signs, different in their nature, in the same word, would be singular. For myself, finding that the lion, the fourth character in PTOLEMY, was the second in CLEOPATRA, I recognized it simply as the sign of the consonant L. I must add, that in no hieratic manuscript, has the sign corresponding to the hieroglyphic lion appeared to me to resemble either the L or the LO of Akerblad.'

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* No. 3, a and b in the plate are the words the *Emperor Cæsar*, as appears from the following note of Mr. Stuart.

'Another example is here subjoined, of hieroglyphical phonetic writing in the name of one of the Roman sovereigns of Egypt. It is that of the *Emperor Cæsar* in the cartouches *a* and *b*, No. 3. It is written in the Greek legends Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρος. The imperial title *AYTOKPTΩP* (with the second *A* suppressed), frequently stands in a cartouche by itself, and is joined by a line or lines to another cartouche containing the *proper names* of the emperors. Such is the case in the example given in No. 3, *a*. *AYTOKPTΩP* is thus explained.

'The *hawk* is the vowel *A*; the *line curved to the left*, which somewhat resembles our numeral figure 9, is the Greek *Y*; the *open hand* is the *T*; the *curved line* is also used to denote the *O*; the *triangle surmounted by a small parallelogram*, is the *K*; the *mouth* is the *P*; the open hand is the *T* as above; the line curved to the right is the Ω; and the *lion* is the *P*. The word *Emperor* is frequently written hieroglyphically, with a suppression of more letters than in the present example, and in different ways; e. g. *AOTOKPTP*, *AOTKPTOP*, *AOTAKPTP*.

'The proper name ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ is thus explained (see No. 3, *b*). The *segment of a circle with a handle*, is the letter *K*; the two feathers represent the *H*, or *AI*; the *two horizontal sceptres facing each other*, represent the Σ; the *hawk* represents the *A*; the *lion* the *P*; the *O* is suppressed; and the Σ is represented as before by *two horizontal sceptres facing each other*. All these signs united make ΚΗΣΑΡΣ or ΚΑΙΣΑΡΣ.'

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'The next sign, continues the learned Englishman,' (we use M. Champollion's language) is known to have some reference to place, in Coptic MA; and it seems to have been read either simply MA or M, and this character is always expressed in the running hand, by the M of Akerblad's alphabet.'

'I must, in the first place, state,' says M. Champollion, 'that I have never seen, either on the Rosetta inscription or elsewhere, that this character is employed singly or separately to denote *place;* and farther, that I have never, in the hieratic texts, seen this hieroglyphic represented by Akerblad's M. * * *

'I have recognized this character as M, *first*, because the other elements of Ptolemy's name being fixed, this could not be any thing else; and, *secondly*, because I recognized it with the same import, in other Greek and Roman names. It will be presently seen again, that Dr. Young, in reading the word, is obliged to return to his *syllabic* system, and pronounce this character MA. Dr. Young (says M. Champollion) continues;

'The two feathers, whatever their natural meaning may have been, answer to the three parallel lines of the enchorial text, and they seem, in more than one instance, to have been read I or E.'

'I was led,' says M. Champollion, 'to assign to the two feathers the value of the Greek H, because I consider these two feathers, or rather leaves, as a complex character formed by the duplication of the single leaf, which is a short vowel. In fact the two leaves answer, with sufficient regularity in hieroglyphical names, either to the Greek diphthongs AI, EI, or the double vowels IA, IO; and in this respect, this hieroglyphic group strongly resembles the double Epsilon EE found in the most ancient Greek inscriptions. The double leaf also sometimes answers to the Greek I, a new reason for rendering it by H, which was by the Greeks certainly pronounced in the same way as our I.*

'The bent line' (M. Champollion cites from Dr. Young) probably signified *great*, and was read OSH or OS.'

'I hold it certain,' replies M. Champollion, '1°. That the idea *great* is not expressed on the Rosetta stone by this curved line, but by a *swallow* placed on the character *mouth*.

'2°. That if it had signified *great*, it would not have been pronounced OSH or OS, which is the Egyptian, not for *great*, but for *much*.

'3°. And, finally, that this curved line is simply the consonant S, and neither the syllable OSH nor OS, because it constantly terminates Greek and Roman names ending in S, and in the middle of them has but that simple sound.

* By the modern Greeks H and I are pronounced alike.

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'Putting all these elements together,' says Dr. Young, as quoted by M. Champollion, 'we have precisely PTOLEMAIOS, the Greek name itself.'

'For myself,' says M. Champollion, 'considering each hieroglyphic as representing a letter, and not one syllable and even two, I can make nothing of it but ΠΤΟΛΜΗΣ, the skeleton of the Greek Πτολεμαιος.'

'According to the system of the learned Englishman, the Egyptians wrote proper names hieroglyphically, by aid of characters properly ideographic, but arbitrarily employed to represent either a single letter, a syllable, or two syllables.

'In my system, the Egyptians transcribed these names, by means of characters, each of which represented simply one consonant or one principal vowel of the foreign name.

'According to Dr. Young, the Egyptians must have had a sort of mixed ideo-syllabic alphabet, like that of the Chinese when they transcribe foreign words into their tongue.

'On my plan, the Egyptians wrote the foreign names, by a method purely alphabetic, like that of the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, and the Arabs, their neighbors.'

We suppose we need not add much to show, not merely the superior elegance and neatness of M. Champollion's procedure; but that his is, and Dr. Young's is not, a distinct conception of a hieroglyphic alphabet. And imperfect as was Dr. Young's conception of the alphabetical use of hieroglyphics, he appears to have retreated from the enunciation of it with something like timidity, observing that he proposed it only as a specimen of what was done in some particular cases, 'and not as being always employed when *sounds* were required.'

We may add, that M. Champollion's method will recommend itself to those familiar with such researches, over Dr. Young's, for the very circumstance, in which the reader, not accustomed to these inquiries, may think that Dr. Young's has the advantage, we mean the want of the fulness and exact correspondence, letter for letter, with which Dr. Young brings out the name. It is well known, that the nations of Western Asia, generally speaking, write only the consonants of the word, omitting to write most of the vowels by the side of the consonants, and not expressing many of them at all, or only by small points. To the practised eye, the names of Ptolemy, Cæsar, Alexander, Psammeticus, &c. decyphered as they are by M. Champollion, and exhibiting only the consonants and leading vowels, carry with them an air of authenticity, which would be wanting, if they were spelt out at length, according to the plan of Dr. Young.

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In about two years after the appearance of M. Champollion's letter to M. Dacier, he published his *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique* (in 1824), which the Edinburgh reviewer calls 'a masterly performance,' and 'a work beyond doubt of the highest interest and value.' It is unquestionably one of the most extraordinary performances of the age. In this work, which lies before us in the second edition of 1828, M. Champollion has incorporated his letter to M. Dacier. He has perfectly developed his grand discovery of the phonetic character of the hieroglyphics. He has decyphered the proper names of sovereigns of Egypt, from the Roman emperors, back through the Ptolemies, to the Pharaohs of the elder dynasties; and has detected the hieroglyphical expression of a large number of natural relations, grammatical accidents, and terms of the vocabulary. The result of his labors has already thrown a great deal of light on the early history of Egypt; and their further prosecution bids fair to make us better acquainted with that period of history, than we are with the annals of Greece, prior to the commencement of the authentic literary monuments of Grecian history.

As one specimen of the application of M. Champollion's researches, we may allude to what he has done, to settle the question of the antiquity of the zodiac of Denderah. Our readers may recollect our account of this interesting relic, in a former number of this journal.* Its antiquity had been pushed to extravagant lengths, and partly for the sake of shaking the credit of the chronology of Moses. M. Champollion has discovered, engraven on the front of the temple in which the zodiac was found, the names of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian. This interesting discovery is usually considered as settling the fact, that the temple was constructed in the Roman age of Egyptian history. We beg leave, however, with diffidence, to suggest one or two doubts on the subject. We freely admit, that these names of the Roman emperors may be *so* engraven on the temple as to appear satisfactorily coeval with its first construction. This can be judged of upon the spot, and perhaps no where else. M. Champollion had not seen the temple, except in the beautiful engravings of the French national work on Egypt. But it will readily occur to the reader, that the mere fact, that the hieroglyphical legends

* North American Review, XVII. p. 233.

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of Roman emperors are found on the walls of an Egyptian temple, would not prove, that the temple was built by or under those emperors. Napoleon covered the public works of France,—some of them from the age of Louis XIV—with the imperial N. Most of the obelisks at Rome, some of which are admitted to be of the highest antiquity, contain Roman inscriptions, from the times of the emperors who removed them. St. Sophia's is ornamented with beautiful legends from the Koran. Nay, it would seem to be proved, that these Roman names *cannot* be considered as a safe indication of the time when the temple was built. M. Champollion found the names of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Domitian, &c. How far down the emperors, not named, extend, does not appear; but from the time that Octavius assumed the title of Augustus till the assassination of Domitian, is a space of one hundred and twenty-five years. Could such a temple have been so long in building? We think not. Some of the names, then, must have been engraven on it, *honoris causâ;* and if some, why not all?

M. Champollion's system has been extensively applied by other scholars. We have before us, in the twenty-ninth volume of the *Memorie della reale Accademia delle Scienze* of Turin, a beautiful essay on several hieroglyphical monuments in the Royal Museum at Turin, but we have time only to refer to it. It is the production of Professor Costanzo Gazzera.

M. Champollion, our readers are probably aware, has been enabled by his government to make a tour of discovery in Egypt, from which he has returned, with his portfolio filled with fifteen hundred drawings, to the publication of which the student of antiquity cannot but look forward with interest and impatience. It were useless to attempt to predict the extent, to which his discoveries have gone. There are some things, which ought to serve to chasten expectation. It is admitted, that, though the hieroglyphics are an alphabetical system, yet that with them the use of hieroglyphic signs in a figurative or symbolic sense, never wholly ceased, but was retained in the same text, and perhaps in the same words. How far this was carried, and what difficulties it may present to the decyphering of the remaining Egyptian legends, experience only can prove. We cannot but hazard the remark, that for contemporary use, it is by no means certain that such an intermixture of figurative with alphabetical signs, is not a more lively and impressive system of writing than the exclusively alphabetical. If, for instance,

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most sensible objects, the names of which occur in a written discourse, were represented by a picture of those objects, in a simple but easily recognized form, we are by no means sure, that it would not have its advantages. If the conception of a more compendious system of language, (a conception, which, chimerical as it may seem, occupied the attention of such a man as Leibnitz for years,) be ever realized, there is no way, in which it is more likely to take place, than by a partial recurrence to picture writing,—taken as an illustration of the other modes of expressing thought. The perfection, to which the art of picture writing was brought by the Mexicans, a people exceedingly low in the scale of civilization, and the rapidity with which they communicated through this medium, may teach us to what uses it might be applied, as a supplement to other methods. We had intended, at the commencement of our article, to describe the Mexican system of picture writing, and compare it with the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but our remarks have already been protracted to a length, which warns us to draw them to a close.

But whatever advantage might result from a contemporary use of figurative hieroglyphics as an aid to the alphabetical character, the mixture may be found to create embarrassment, till its laws are ascertained. Besides this difficulty, M. Champollion has to encounter that of a language but imperfectly known. We do not know how much M. Quatremère may have undertaken to prove, as to the identity of the dialect of the Coptic version and the Egyptian tongue, spoken in the time of Ramses, *the guardian of truth, approved by Phrè*, who flourished almost as long before the Christian era as we live after it. The substance of the language is no doubt the same; its grammar and vocabulary must be changed. It is much, if they are as like those of the ancient tongue, as modern Greek is like Homer. M. Champollion, then, has to read the hieroglyphical legends into a tongue imperfectly known, and remote from the European stock.

Then comes, after all, the difficulty arising from the paucity of the matter to be read. If we had no Latin or Greek but the inscriptions on public monuments, the reading of them would be a very different thing from what it is, in a page of Livy or Xenophon. One column of a newspaper would probably hold a literal translation of the inscriptions on an obelisk.

With all this, we have strong hopes that brilliant results will

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be disclosed. When we consider how much has been deduced from the fact, that the single name of Ptolemy was preserved in the hieroglyphical part of the Rosetta stone, we cannot doubt, that when Egypt shall have been thoroughly ransacked, the means of reading her now difficult legends will be so multiplied as to put us in possession of all they conceal. The Rosetta stone itself informs us, that a similar stone was set up in several other temples. Some one of these, unmutilated, may yet be brought to light. A great abundance of papyri are in existence, written both in hieroglyphics and enchorial characters, from which much may be learned. Meantime, however, care ought to be taken, by those whom it concerns, not to trifle with the public curiosity and impatience, with such reports as that of the papyrus at Aix, containing a complete hieroglyphical history of the conquests of Sesostris.

That the walls of the temples and the obelisks are inscribed with historic legends, there can be now no doubt, and we may soon hope to be favored with some of these venerable records, which excited the curiosity of the Grecian and Roman traveller. The following passage from Tacitus teaches us, that, with M. Champollion for our interpreter, we cannot well place our expectations too high. Speaking of the generous curiosity of Germanicus to explore the sources of the Nile, and describing his excursion to Upper Egypt for this purpose, Tacitus thus proceeds;

'Germanicus next visited the vast remains of ancient Thebes. And as Egyptian characters still remained on the massy edifices, one of the elder priests was directed to interpret the dialect of his country. The priest explained them to signify, that seven hundred thousand men, capable of bearing arms, formerly inhabited the city; and that with this army the king Ramses, made the conquest of Libya, Ethiopia, Media and Persia, Bactriana, and Scythia, and extended his empire over the territory of the Syrians and Armenians and their neighbors the Cappadocians, from the Bithynian to the Lycian sea. In like manner were explained to him the tribute imposed on the subject nations, the weight of silver and gold, the quantity of armor, the number of horses, the ivory and perfumes as gifts for the temples, the grain and the supplies of all kinds to be furnished by each people, to an extent of magnificence not exceeded in the Parthian or Roman empire at the present day.' *

Many of the structures, charged with these inscriptions, remain to the present day!

* Tacit. Annal. ii. lx.

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We have already observed, that M. Champollion has returned from Egypt, with the materials of one of the most important works, which the age has produced, and which will probably, in no very long period, be given to the world. It will doubtless require, in order to be understood, that the reader should have a pretty accurate general knowledge of M. Champollion's system. Such an idea can be very conveniently obtained from M. Greppo's essay, as translated and illustrated by Mr. Stuart. His labor, therefore, has been bestowed upon this undertaking at a very seasonable moment; and we close our article with recommending it in the strongest terms, to the lovers of learning in our country. It will lay open to the philologian a wide field of ingenious literary speculation. The student of history will find, that it puts him on the path to rich and hitherto unexplored regions. The theologian will be made acquainted with a new source, from which the sacred volume may be illustrated; and the general reader will derive from it, within a small compass, a large accession of new and curious views.

ART. VI.—1. *Report from the Committee on Commerce to whom was referred so much of the President's Message, as relates to the Commerce of the United States with Foreign Nations, &c.* Read and referred, Feb. 8, 1830.

2. *A Review of Mr. Cambreleng's Report from the Committee of Commerce.* By MEPHISTOPHELES. Baltimore. 1830.

3. *Exposition and Protest reported by the Special Committee of the House of Representatives on the Tariff.* Read and ordered to be printed, Dec. 13, 1828.

4. *Mr. Mc Duffie's Speech in the House of Representatives on the Bill reported by the Committee on Manufactures for the more faithful Collection of the Revenue.* Delivered April 26, 1830.

The great advantages that must naturally result from the introduction of home manufactures into the United States, are sufficiently obvious, and are hardly denied even by those who are most hostile to the protecting system. Independently of the obvious considerations of political expediency, which render it the duty and the policy of every nation to depend as lit-

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tle as possible on foreign labor for articles of ordinary consumption, and looking at the subject merely under an economical point of view, it is evident, that the influence of home manufactures upon the condition of the citizens of every portion of the country, is in the highest degree favorable. The general operation of these establishments is to check emigration from the settled to the unsettled parts of the country—to increase the population, and with it the wealth and comforts of the former, and to raise the standard of civilization and morals throughout the whole. They encourage the agriculture of the Southern States, by holding out to the planters in addition to the foreign demand for their staples, a new and rapidly increasing domestic one, which will very soon surpass the former in importance, as much as it now does, and always must, in stability and certainty. They supply the cultivators of the Middle and Western States with an ample market for their provisions, which are now, and always will be in times of peace, excluded from the ports of most other countries. They furnish the monied men of the Eastern States with a lucrative and safe investment for the accumulated capital, which no longer finds employment in commerce or the national funds. By supplying products at lower prices than those of foreign ones of the same description, and in exchange for others that in many cases could not be exported, they enable the citizens of every section of the country to consume manufactures in larger quantities, and thus to obtain a fuller enjoyment of the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life. They are, therefore—economically viewed—a great and equal benefit to the whole community. The political and moral advantages that result from them are not less apparent. By retaining the rising generations of the people in the neighborhood of their homes, and within the domestic circles to which they belong, they keep them under the influence of the strongest natural motives to virtue. By substituting the cultivation of the arts of social life, and the tastes, manners, and habits that result from it for those of the roving emigrant, or the solitary settler in the wilderness, they improve the character of the people, and elevate the standard of civilization. They finally perfect and accomplish the great work of our national emancipation, which was only begun by the political separation from the mother country, and which will be fully completed when we shall have learned to supply ourselves at home with all the products, which our

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domestic resources are fitted to furnish, including the first and noblest of them all, the products of the mind. When we shall have succeeded in relieving ourselves from the sort of colonial relation in which we have hitherto stood to the mechanical and intellectual workshops of Europe—when we shall have acquired an economical and moral, as well as a political independence—we shall then possess a real national existence, and may fairly claim the honors—till then unmerited—of a self-subsisting substantive community.

We have said above, that the great advantages which result from the possession of domestic manufactures, are hardly contested, even by those most hostile to the protecting policy. They have in fact been seldom stated in a more satisfactory form, than they were by Dr. Cooper, in a paper published in the year 1813, from which we make the following extract. The learned President of Columbia College was then as decidedly in favor of the encouragement and protection of domestic manufactures as he is now opposed to them. We quote his ancient opinions, however, not so much for the purpose of bringing them into contradiction with his present ones—we are not anxious that an individual who has obtained what he thinks new light upon a great subject, should be *estopped* by any declarations which he may have made of his former views from publishing his new ones, although we always regret to see a change of this kind happen under circumstances, which have a tendency to render the motive of it in any way doubtful—but because we really do not know where we could find within the same compass, a more distinct and forcible statement of the leading ideas on this side of the question.

'Our agriculturists want a home market. Manufactures would supply it. Agriculture, at great distances from sea-ports, languishes for want of this. Great Britain exhibits an instance of unexampled power and wealth by means of an agriculture, greatly dependent on a system of manufactures—and her agriculture, thus situated, is the best in the world, though still capable of great improvement.

'We are too much dependent upon Great Britain, for articles that habit has converted into necessaries. A state of war demands privations, that a large portion of our citizens reluctantly submit to. Home manufactures would greatly lessen the evil.

'By means of debts incurred for foreign manufactures, we are almost again become colonists—we are too much under the influ-

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ence, indirectly, of British merchants and British agents. We are not an independent people—manufactures among us would tend to correct this, and give a stronger tone of nationality at home. I greatly value the intercourse with that country of pre-eminent knowledge and energy; but our dependence upon it is often so great, as to be oppressive to ourselves.

'The state of agriculture would improve with the improvement of manufactures, by means of the general spirit of energy and exertion, which no where exists in so high a degree as in a manufacturing country; and by the general improvement of machinery, and the demand for raw materials.

'The home trade, consisting in the exchange of agricultural surpluses for articles of manufacture, produced in our own country, will, for a long time to come, furnish the safest and the least dangerous, the least expensive, and the least immoral, the most productive and the most patriotic employment of our surplus capital, however raised and accumulated. The safest, because it requires no navies exclusively for its protection—the least dangerous, because it furnishes no excitement to the prevailing madness of commercial wars—the least expensive, for the same reason that it is the safest and the least dangerous—the least immoral, because it furnishes no temptation to the breach or evasion of the laws, to the multiplication of oaths and perjuries, and to the consequent prostration of all religious feeling and all social duty—the most productive, because the capital admits of quicker return; because the whole of the capital is permanently invested and employed at home; because it contributes, directly, immediately, and wholly, to the internal wealth and resources of the nation; because the credits given, are more easily watched, and more effectually protected by our own laws, well known, easily resorted to, and speedily executed, than if exposed in distant and foreign countries, controlled by foreign laws and foreign customs, and at the mercy of foreign agents—the most patriotic, because it binds the persons employed in it, by all the ties of habit and of interest, to their own country; while foreign trade tends to denationalize the affections of those whose property is dispersed in foreign countries, whose interests are connected with foreign interests, whose capital is but partially invested at the place of their domicil, and who can remove with comparative facility from one country to another. The wise man observed of old, that 'where the treasure is, there will the heart be also;' and time has not detracted from the truth of the remark.

'We have a decided superiority in the raw materials of cotton, hemp, and flax; in our alkalies for glass-works; in the hides and the tanning materials of the leather manufactory; and we can easily procure that advantage, so far, at least, as our own con-

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sumption requires it, in the woollen manufactory. Other branches might be enumerated, wherein our advantages of internal resources are undeniable; but I cannot see why we should neglect or despise these. Nothing but a stimulus is wanted to induce and enable us to make a proper use of our domestic riches. But men of skill and men of capital fear to begin, lest on the return of peace they should be exposed, in the weakness and infancy of their undertaking, to contend with the overwhelming capital and skill of the European powers, particularly of Great Britain.'

As Dr. Cooper has justly and forcibly described, in the above extract, the great advantages resulting from domestic manufactures, so he has correctly pointed out at the close the nature of the difficulty attending their establishment, and the means by which it may be overcome. The difficulty lies in *beginning*, and it must be overcome by a *stimulus*, which can only be applied in the form of legislative protection. However favorably situated a country may be for manufacturing,—and there is certainly none upon the face of the globe that combines more natural advantages and facilities for this purpose than the United States—whatever care and skill may be employed in laying the foundations of the establishments, it is certain that their products will be for a time inferior to the corresponding ones, which are furnished by an equal amount of labor in other countries. No forethought, care, or vigilance will entirely supply the want of experience. Injudicious and unnecessary expenses will be incurred—unsuitable agents will be employed—erroneous methods will be adopted, and it is not until the progress of years has afforded time and opportunity for reforming errors and supplying defects, that the product begins to wear a finished shape. In the mean time, it is offered in a form at once less perfect and more expensive than the foreign one, and if the market be left open, the necessary consequence is, that there is no sale for the former; or if we adopt the supposition that the domestic article is every way equal to the foreign one, the mere force of habit will give the latter for a time a decided preference. Under these circumstances, the domestic article finds no purchasers; the manufacture of it yields no returns and is abandoned, and the great and permanent advantages that would have resulted from it, if it could have been persevered in, are lost to the community.

In order to secure these results, and remove the dangers that are incident to new establishments, it is only necessary to

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give them for a short time the aid of legislative protection, by imposing a duty on the importation of the products of similar establishments in foreign countries. This occasions a rise of equal amount in the cost of the foreign article in the domestic market; and the domestic manufacturer is able to furnish his article at a cheaper rate, though perhaps at first of a somewhat inferior quality. He finds of course, a ready sale; his establishment is sustained through the critical period of its infancy; he gradually acquires experience—reforms his errors—carries his methods to perfection, and finally becomes independent of the protecting duty, because his article, not being charged with the expenses of transportation from abroad, can be furnished cheaper than the foreign one. The establishment is now secure and flourishes—the methods employed in it are copied in others—the duty becomes a mere name, and the domestic manufacturer instead of requiring legislative aid in order to have possession of the market of his own country, begins to supply that of others. Such has been within our own time and in our immediate neighborhood the progress of the cotton manufactory, which would never have taken root and flourished without the protecting duty; but having now grown up to maturity is in a great measure independent of legislative aid, and in some of its branches would continue to thrive if the whole duty were taken off. Such is the history of most of the British manufactures, which, under the operation of a steady course of legislative protection, have gained such a degree of consolidation and stability, that they now defy competition in all markets, foreign and domestic. Under these circumstances, the protecting duty is merely nominal, and the Ministry, by diminishing or removing it on some articles, are able to give themselves without hazard, the credit of a liberal policy—taking care, however, as they regularly do, to retain the duty upon any product in regard to which there is the least possibility of any competition from abroad. The operation of legislative aid on the infancy of domestic manufactures, is like that of favorable circumstances on the seeds of a powerful and productive tree. They require but little aid to make them germinate, but that little is absolutely necessary, and unless it is given, they perish forever. An acorn, which is thrown upon the rocks, or the way-side, is soon converted into a little heap of useless dust; supply it with a handful of earth and a few drops of water, and it forthwith becomes a plant—protect the young plant by a fence from

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external violence, and it shoots up into a large and spreading oak—the pride of the forest and the material of future navies. So it is with domestic manufactures. In their infant state, they require the aid of protecting duties, and without it, they can rarely, if ever, take deep root—obtain consistency, or ultimately flourish. Afford them the protection they want, and they soon outgrow the necessity for it—assume a healthy and vigorous developement—send forth branches in all directions, which enliven and adorn the whole face of the country, and yield returns of wealth and well-being, in comparison with which the trifling sacrifice that was originally made for the purpose of securing their infancy, is not worth consideration.

It is in fact an error to consider the policy of protecting our own manufactures by a duty on the importation of foreign ones as occasioning any sacrifice whatever to the community. The opponents of the protecting system uniformly maintain, that these duties are a burden upon the public for the benefit of a particular class. Mr. Mc Duffie, in the speech before us, endeavors to prove, that this supposed burden is borne exclusively by the Southern planters: Mr. Cambreleng pronounces it to be a permanent imposition upon the whole people. These opinions are both erroneous, and the latter involves a double mistake. The operation of protecting duties is—as we have seen already—not permanent but merely temporary. They guard the infant establishment from foreign competition, but when once the domestic manufacture is fully established, it has nothing to apprehend from abroad, and the protecting duty becomes a mere name. The operation of it is, therefore, not permanent but temporary, nor is it, while it lasts, a burden upon the whole or any part of the community. It imposes no new charge. It subjects the people to no sacrifice, which they would not be obliged to make to the same, or even a greater extent, if the whole protecting duty were taken off. The truth of this remark is easily seen on the slightest reflection. The expenses of government must be defrayed by a tax levied on the products of labor in one shape or another; and there never has been, and probably never will be, a period in our history when a single dollar has been, or will be, raised for this purpose more than is absolutely necessary. The expenses of government are, therefore, what Mr. Cambreleng erroneously calls the protecting duties—a permanent burden on the community. These expenses have been hitherto defrayed by

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the produce of an impost on foreign articles, which answers at the same time the great additional purpose of protecting our domestic industry. Let us now suppose, that in deference to the opinions of the Southern planters, the duties on the importation of foreign goods are all repealed, and our ports declared entirely free. What follows? Will the freedom of the ports pay off the national debt—maintain our civil, military, and naval establishments, and furnish the large sums that are wanted for the removal of the Indians? Clearly not. No sooner are the protecting duties repealed, than we must provide for raising, in some other way, precisely the same revenue that we now derive from them; and as a given amount of money is collected at a cheaper rate in the form of custom-house duties than in any other, the people would now be subjected to a heavier burden than they were before. We should be compelled to resort to the system of direct taxes, and leaving out of view the vexatious character of this mode of raising money, it is well known to be much more expensive than the other, so that we should be obliged to raise, in addition to what we raised before, one or two millions more for the sole purpose of defraying the additional charges of the new financial system. It is obvious, therefore, that the duties which protect our domestic industry do not impose any new burden on the labor of the people. They occasion no sacrifice, which would not have been made if they did not exist, and not only so, but they actually alleviate the pressure, which, under any other form of collecting the revenue is imposed upon the public by the standing expenses of the administration.

The only incidental inconvenience, which, on general principles, might be expected to result from the growth of domestic manufactures, would be the decline of navigation. If we now supply ourselves at home, with the articles we formerly brought from abroad, the ships that brought them will no longer be wanted, and the navigating interest will sustain some damage, especially if the change in the state of industry be suddenly effected by important changes in the tariff. This, we say, would be the result of the circumstances supposed, on general principles, and although the inconvenience sustained by a few individuals would be far more than counterbalanced by the great advantages accruing to the community from the same cause, it would still be to a certain extent real. It is easy, however, to see, that in the peculiar situation of the United

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States, the adoption of a protecting policy will not probably be attended with any positive diminution of the amount of our foreign trade and navigation; that the only change effected by it in this department of industry will be, that our ships will now bring home one description of foreign articles instead of another—French and Spanish products, for example, instead of British—and that, as the former are in general more bulky in proportion to their value than the latter, the amount of navigation employed may be expected to increase, instead of diminishing. We shall have occasion to develope this idea a little more at length when we come to examine the theory of Mr. Cambreleng on the supposed decline of our navigation and foreign trade.

It results in general from the foregoing remarks, that the establishment of domestic manufactures is productive of the most important economical, political, and moral benefits to the country—that they require in their infancy the aid of legislative protection in the form of duties on the importation of foreign goods—that the effect of these duties is in its nature temporary, and that while it lasts, it not only does not impose any additional burden or sacrifice upon the people, but actually relieves them from a part of the burdens, which, under any other circumstances they must necessarily have borne, inasmuch as they furnish a revenue by general acknowledgment, at a cheaper rate than it can possibly be collected in any other way. It appears, therefore, that the protecting policy is attended by no inconvenience tending to diminish in any way the great advantages which confessedly result from it, and that it produces to the country nothing but pure unalloyed good. It is not unnatural, however, that many important interests among us should take the alarm at the prospect of any change in the state of the national industry. The Southern planters *fear*, that the duties on foreign manufactures will diminish the foreign market for their products, more than it will increase the domestic one. The Northern navigators *fear*, that the growth of domestic manufactures will be followed by a decline in the foreign trade, and it is quite in the usual order of cause and effect, that without waiting to see how far these apprehensions, which nothing has yet occurred to confirm, will be justified by results, the parties in question should vigorously oppose by all the arguments and means in their power the measures, from the effect of which they expect so much inconvenience. It is not

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perhaps quite so natural, that while they continue to be a minority of the community, they should think that their opinion ought to prevail over that of the majority, or that, under the mere apprehension of some slight pecuniary loss, the former should contemplate a separation of the States. Such opinions and proceedings are not only erroneous, but the errors they involve are at variance with the moral qualities which the parties in question are fond of claiming as the distinctive traits of their own characters—they are such as we should rather look for in the calculating North than in the 'generous South.' But even these errors, obvious and palpable as they are, are sufficiently consistent with the ordinary infirmity of poor human nature; and we are quite willing to extend to them all the friendly and charitable indulgence which the occasion may appear to require —more especially as we do not conceive that they are fraught with any very imminent peril—economical or political—to the welfare of the country.

The report made to the House of Representatives of the United States at the last session of Congress, by Mr. Cambreleng, as Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, and the speech of Mr. Mc Duffie on the bill reported from the Committee of Manufactures for the prevention of frauds on the revenue, are among the most remarkable publications which have lately been called forth by the apprehensions to which we have just alluded. The arguments contained in these papers were fully and satisfactorily answered on the floor of Congress; but as they have since been reprinted in various forms, and circulated much more extensively than the answers which were made to them, it may not be wholly superfluous to give them at present a brief consideration. They represent respectively the feelings and opinions of the planting and navigating interests; and are entitled to much respect as expressions of the sentiments of large and important classes of the community through the agency of leading members of Congress, although it will, perhaps, be sufficiently evident in the sequel, that the cause is essentially too weak to appear to much advantage even in the hands of the ablest and most accomplished advocates.

We shall first notice the report of Mr. Cambreleng, and before we proceed to examine the substance of it, we cannot but remark, that the tone does not strike us as precisely the one best suited on every account to the nature of the occasion. We speak with diffidence on this head, because we are aware,

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that the tone which is proper to be observed in the oral and written proceedings of Congress, is in part, a matter of mere usage, and that we have thus far no right to oppose our merely speculative notions to the results of practical experience; but with all the deference that we feel for the high authority of the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, we must say, that in our opinion a less decisive and triumphant tone than that which he employs, would have been in better taste. The chairman of a committee, in making a report to the House, is in the nature of an agent, submitting for the consideration of his principal the results of an investigation undertaken by his order. The tone which properly belongs to such a position is that of perfect respect and deference, more especially when, as in the case before us, these results are known to be at variance with the established opinions and practice of the principal. Mr. Cambreleng was fully aware, that the system he intended to combat was a favorite one with a decided majority of both Houses of Congress—that the majority of Congress were sustained in their opinion on this subject by the majority of the people—by the opinions and practice of all the preceding and of the present Administration of the General Government—by the almost unanimous voice of his own great State. He was fully aware that the Government and people of the United States are sustained in their opinion and practice upon this subject by those of every other nation in Christendom. He was fully aware that the system which he prefers, is a mere speculative theory—promulgated for the first time half a century ago by an ingenious Scotch writer—which has never been practised upon by any government whatever in any part of the world, and which, as a mere theory, is fast going out of vogue in the only quarter where it ever obtained any authority. In addition to all this, he knew that the system he was opposing was the law of the land, and entitled as such, were it even founded in erroneous principles, to the respect of every good citizen, and especially of those whose particular province it is to superintend and regulate the operations of Government. All these considerations ought not, we are aware, to have prevented Mr. Cambreleng from stating distinctly in his report the opinions of the majority of the committee, in whose name he was speaking, were it even at variance with that of the House and the country; but they ought, we think, to have prevented him from applying to the latter such epithets as 'an-

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tiquated absurdities,' 'extravagant speculations,' 'remnants of an exploded system,' 'experiments to encourage gambling and smuggling,' and a variety of others of a similar kind. We cannot consider it as quite decorous in a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, to tell that body in a formal report, that a policy, which a majority of the members are known to approve, is disgraceful to the country, and that it *must* be altered. This style appears to us to suit the position of a General at the head of his army, reprimanding a negligent or offending officer, rather than that of an individual member submitting to the consideration of one of the most imposing deliberative assemblies in the world, the results of an inquiry, undertaken by their order, into the state of an important branch of the Administration.

We have remarked on some other occasions as well as this, in the language of the opponents of the protecting policy, a dogmatical and peremptory tone, which we think exceedingly ungraceful, although it is not uncommon in persons who are opposing what they deem the results of scientific research, to the plain dictates of the experience of practical men. The editor of the New-York Evening Post, for example, in a commentary upon our own poor labors, very coolly remarked, that the doctrines of the protecting policy are regarded by the most enlightened men of all countries as absurd and mischievous. Now it so happens, as we have already hinted, that these doctrines are, always have been, and probably always will be, approved and acted on by the governments of all the powers in Christendom, including the United States. If the simple fact of agreeing or not agreeing on this subject with the editor of the New-York Evening Post be the test of intellectual light or darkness, his proposition is of course identical; but on any other view of the case, it is not more plausible, than it would be to affirm that the leading statesmen of Christendom do not belong to the class of persons, who, from their superior talents and character, are commonly called *enlightened men*. To speak only of our own country, General Washington approved the protecting policy—Hamilton was its great advocate—Jefferson, who differed from Hamilton on so many other points, agreed with him in this. John Adams, Madison, and Monroe, held the same opinion. All these persons belong, in our opinion, to the class of enlightened men—of the most enlightened men in the country. If the denunciation applied only to the

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members and principal supporters of the last Administration, we could find a natural motive for it in the party politics of the writer, although we incline to think that candid men of all parties would be willing to allow that Messrs. J. Q. Adams, Clay, Rush, Webster, and their principal coadjutors—all warm supporters of the protecting policy—are yet fairly entitled to the description of enlightened men. But this is not the worst. The present Administration of the General Government partakes on this subject in the error, if such it be, of all the preceding ones. The President, long ago, declared himself in favor of a *judicious tariff*, and on a late occasion expressed anew his firm determination to give a temperate and steady support to the encouragement of domestic manufactures. Mr. Secretary Van Buren and a majority of the Cabinet are understood to agree with him in these opinions, and intentions. Are we to understand, then, that the President, the Secretary of State, and the majority of the Cabinet are, in the opinion of this writer, unenlightened men? Is the editor of the Post, with all his intellectual light, pursuing the track of a set of blind guides? Or if, while he differs from the Cabinet on this subject, he is willing to allow them the possession of a share of common sense, would it not be natural to treat with more indulgence other writers, who can plead in favor of their opinions upon the point on which they have the misfortune to differ from him, the authority of the very statesmen in whom he places the fullest confidence?

But without dwelling any longer on this part of the subject, we proceed at once to notice the substance of the argument, which the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce has presented with so much confidence to the House of Representatives.

The plan of this argument is not distinctly announced, nor is the argument itself arranged in a regular form. The natural course of reasoning in favor of the positions taken in the report, would be to establish in a general way the inconvenience of a protecting policy, and then to illustrate the subject by reference to the effects of such a policy in this country on all the great branches of industry. Of these two leading divisions of the argument, the former is wholly omitted in the report. Instead of entering on a discussion of general principles, the Chairman confines himself to positive assertions and polite epithets of the description quoted above. The law of the land is not shown to be founded in incorrect principles, but is pronounced to be

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an antiquated absurdity. Congress are not informed why they ought to change it, but are told peremptorily that it MUST be repealed. In the other division of the argument, which considers the effect of the present policy on the industry of the country, the Chairman omits almost entirely any large and direct observation of the state of either agriculture, manufactures, or commerce, and confines his view to the single article of *navigation*—an interest of high importance, no doubt, but still subsidiary only to commerce, itself but one, and that not the most important of the three great sources of national wealth. A few loose hints are thrown out in direct reference to these, but the only point which is developed and illustrated with any fulness and care, is the state of our navigation in itself and in comparison with that of Great Britain. The protecting policy is bad, because the tonnage of the United States has been decreasing ever since it was adopted, while that of Great Britain—a power that has acted on an opposite system—has been constantly increasing during the same period. Such is the sum and substance of the argument advanced in the report.

This argument—such as it is—is however stated with so little method or distinctness, that it is not apparent whether the Chairman means to represent the supposed decline of navigation as being itself the evil resulting from the protecting policy, or merely an indication and proof of the decline of our foreign trade. In some passages, as in that, for example, where he makes the extravagant assertion, that the rise or decline of our navigation is the index of our national prosperity and power, he contemplates it under the former point of view, and in others under the latter. If the general course of his reasoning were sound, and his facts correctly stated, the argument would no doubt admit of either application. The decline of navigation would be itself a great evil, and would also be an indication of a still greater one, the decline of foreign trade. But as used by Mr. Cambreleng, the argument—supposing even the facts to be well established—admits, under each of the abovementioned applications, of a distinct, peremptory, and unanswerable reply. The suggestion that our navigation has declined since the war, is, as we shall see hereafter, wholly false; but admitting, for argument's sake, that such is the fact, it is perfectly clear, that, whether we consider it in itself or as an index of the state of trade, it can have no bearing on the merits of the protecting system.

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1. For if it be argued that our navigation has declined since the war, and, consequently, that the protecting policy, which has been gradually gaining ground during that time, is a bad one, the obvious answer is, that navigation is precisely the one—and it is almost the only one—of all the branches of our national industry to which the principle of protection has not been applied during that period. From the year 1789 up to the close of the late war, our tonnage was protected by discriminating duties; since the war, these discriminating duties have been, for practical purposes, entirely taken off. During the former period, our tonnage regularly increased; during the latter, according to Mr. Cambreleng, it has regularly declined. Supposing the facts to be as he states them, the obvious conclusion is, that the protecting policy was favorable to the growth of our navigation, and the repeal of it the reverse. Mr. Cambreleng argues, on the contrary, that because our navigation has, according to him, regularly declined ever since the repeal of the protecting policy, as applied to this department of industry, while it regularly throve during its existence, it has therefore been ruined by the protecting policy.

In a speech made in reply to one by Mr. Gorham, upon a bill introduced by Mr. Cambreleng, at a subsequent period of the session, the latter gentleman remarks, that the repeal of the discriminating tonnage duties cannot possibly be regarded as one of the causes of what he calls the paralyzed state of navigation, because the amount of American tonnage employed in our foreign trade being to that of foreign in the proportion of seven to one, we gain of course in the same proportion from a reciprocal repeal by ourselves and the nations with which we trade, of the discriminating tonnage duties formerly levied on both sides. We are disposed to agree with him in the opinion, that our navigation has not been injured by a repeal of the protecting duties. It has outgrown the period when protection was useful, and like the manufacturing interest of England, now defies competition. We must remark, however, that the reason he gives why the supposed decline of navigation has not been owing to the repeal of the protecting duties has very little force. Whatever advantages we might gain for the moment, by a repeal of discriminating duties, the question would still arise, whether our navigation, unprotected by duties, can stand the competition with that of other nations. If it cannot, it will of course regularly decline, and this question is so far from being

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resolved in the affirmative by the fact of its present superiority, that this superiority, acquired as it has been, under the prevalence of a different system, has an obvious bearing in favor of protection. But however this may be, it is quite plain that the flourishing state of navigation under the protecting duties, and its decline—supposing it to be real—since their repeal, are facts that can never be employed by any sound reasoner as proofs of the inexpediency of the protecting policy; or rather—for this language is quite inadequate to the true state of the case—the employment of them for this purpose is a mode of reasoning which wears upon the face of it an air of open and unqualified absurdity.

Mr. Cambreleng would doubtless reply—if called upon to explain himself—that the effect of the new protecting duties which have been laid upon the materials of ship-building is so much greater than that of the former discriminating duties on tonnage, as to render these a matter of no importance; and to authorize the statement that this branch of our industry is still under the operation of the protecting policy. In the speech to which we alluded above, he asserts that the enormous taxes we have levied on the materials of ship-building account for the present state of our shipping, when compared with its former prosperity; and in the report before us, 'our treaties and our navigation laws are idle pageants, unless we relieve ship-building from its taxes.' It is remarkable, however, that though he has given a minute calculation of the increase in the expense of building a ship of five hundred tons, resulting from this augmentation of the protecting duties on some foreign articles, he has avoided comparing this additional expense with the amount of the discriminating duty formerly levied upon a foreign ship of the same burden. The result of such a comparison would have shown at once, that the latter amount is far more important than the former, and that if our navigation had declined since the war, the fact might have been attributed to the repeal of the discriminating duties with much more plausibility, than to the additional expense of ship-building, resulting from the new duties on foreign materials. The actual difference between the cost of building a ship of five hundred tons in Great Britain and in the United States, occasioned by the difference between the duties levied respectively in the two countries, on Russian and Swedish goods, is represented by Mr. Cambreleng as being at present $18,577,99.

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But the former American duties on Russian and Swedish articles, are represented by himself in another document as having been on an average about half as high as the present ones, and as the additional expense can be calculated only on the additional amount of duty, the difference between the expense of building a ship of five hundred tons in England and America, resulting from the increase in our protecting duties, is reduced to about $1,100. Compare now with this, the effect on our tonnage of the repeal of the discriminating duties. A foreign ship of five hundred tons formerly paid, every time she entered an American port, a discriminating tonnage and light duty of ninety-four cents per ton. Supposing that our ships, engaged in the foreign trade, made only three voyages in a year, they lost the first year, simply by the effect of the repeal of the discriminating duty, the benefit of a protection equal to about $1,500. But this is not all. The cargo of a foreign ship formerly paid, as such, an additional duty of ten per cent. Supposing the average value of the cargoes imported in ships of five hundred tons to be only $100,000, and the average rate of duties fifty per cent.—probably a low calculation—the foreigner was subject, on this account only, to an additional charge of $5,000 at every entry; and taking together the two items, the American ship had the benefit of a discriminating duty on the foreign one, equal, on the average, at every entry, to about $6,500. If we suppose her, as before, to make three voyages in a year, and to last ten years, her owner loses, in the whole course of her employment, by the repeal of the discriminating tonnage duties, the advantage of a preference over the foreigner equal to $190,000; while, on the other hand, if we double the additional expense of building her, occasioned by the new protecting duties, for the additional expense of repairing her, arising from the same cause, we shall have, as the total result of the loss upon her, on this account, the sum of $2,200. Such is the comparative influence upon the interest of the navigator, of the repeal of the discriminating duties on foreign ships and cargoes, and of the additional duties on the materials employed in ship-building. It is pretty obvious, therefore, that if our navigation have actually declined, and especially if the proportion of foreign tonnage be, as Mr. Cambreleng affirms, greater than it was formerly, the circumstance is owing to the repeal of the discriminating duties, and not to the new taxes on the materials of ship-building. The latter cause

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would, of course, operate—as far as it operated at all—in concurrence with the former, but as the effect of it would be to that of the other in the proportion of two to two hundred, it might be regarded, for the purposes of any general argument, as fractional and null.

It must be sufficiently apparent by this time to all our readers, that our navigation has been since the war entirely under the influence of what Mr. Cambreleng would call a liberal, and not a protecting policy; and that if it be, as he says, in a state of decline, the fact, instead of helping his argument, makes directly against him. So much for the value of his reasoning, so far as he intends to represent the supposed decline of navigation as a positive evil, resulting from the adoption of the protecting policy, and tending, of course, to prove it to be a mistaken one. But the fact admits of another application to the argument, if we suppose a decline of navigation to be not merely an evil in itself, but the indication of another still greater evil, a corresponding decline of commerce. It is accordingly used at times in this way by Mr. Cambreleng, and we proceed to inquire, whether he has been more fortunate in this employment of it than he has in the other.

2. In this application of the fact, the argument takes the following form. The decline of navigation since the war, indicates a decline of our trade during the same period; and as this period coincides with the adoption of the protecting policy, we must presume that it is owing to that cause.

If it were the object of Mr. Cambreleng to found any part of his reasoning upon a supposition of a decline of our foreign trade since the war, it would have been more natural to appeal directly to the annual returns of exports and imports, of which we possess official statements. These would have exhibited a regular increase instead of diminution in the amount of our foreign trade, for the last sixteen years. The supposed fact of the decline of trade is therefore just as chimerical as that of the decline of navigation; but in order to see the full force and beauty of the reasoning of Mr. Cambreleng, let us admit, for argument's sake, that our commerce has declined, and see how the fact will bear upon his conclusions.

The purpose of the protecting policy is to enable the people to make at home the articles they now bring from abroad. As far as they succeed in this purpose, they will of course cease to buy those articles from abroad. Mr. Cambreleng tells us

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that our foreign commerce has declined; that is, that we bring fewer articles from abroad than we formerly did, and that this is owing to the protecting policy. Does it follow from this, that the protecting policy is bad? Evidently not. The only conclusion is, that this policy has answered its purpose—that we make at home the articles we desired to make at home—that we no longer bring from abroad the articles we desired not to bring from abroad—that our policy, in short, has succeeded, and will at least have a chance for a fair trial. The fact of the supposed decline of commerce, although it does not, like that of navigation, make directly against the conclusions of Mr. Cambreleng, has yet no bearing whatever in their favor. It proves the success of the protecting policy, and leaves the question of its expediency or inexpediency entirely untouched.

It is obvious, in fact, on a general view of the subject, that it is the necessary and natural operation of the growth of domestic manufactures, to occasion a decline of foreign, and a corresponding increase of internal trade. In proportion as we make at home the articles we formerly brought from abroad, our trade will consist in carrying between different parts of our own country, instead of carrying between that and other countries. This change is at once an advantage in itself, and an evidence of an advantageous change in the general state of industry. The home trade is admitted by all, including Adam Smith, the great authority of the opponents of the protecting policy, to be a steadier, safer, and, on the whole, more eligible branch of business than the foreign; and the increase of it evidently indicates a favorable change in the general state of industry. It shows, that a people employ two domestic capitals where they before employed but one, and that their population, wealth, and resources have increased in the same proportion. This is a point which is apparently not understood by the opponents of protection, but which, if they could once bring themselves to realize it—and it seems to us to be obvious to the plainest common sense—would go near, we think, to satisfy them of the error of their whole system.

If, therefore, there had been, as Mr. Cambreleng affirms, a decline of our foreign trade, since the war, the fact would only prove, that the protecting policy had gone into successful operation, and that we had partially substituted a more advantageous and lucrative branch of industry, for one that was less so. Such, however, is not the fact. There has not been, as

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we have previously seen, any decline in our foreign trade, and the reason is, that in consequence of the peculiar character of our intercourse with foreign countries, the case of the United States forms a sort of exception to the general rule, that the growth of domestic manufactures diminishes the extent of foreign trade. Our exports are chiefly of agricultural products, which cannot be raised in the climates of the countries to which we carry them, and which—being employed in their manufactories, and the best and cheapest of their kinds—those countries must at all events have, and must pay for in one way or another. If, in consequence of the growth of domestic manufactures, we should cease to import from any one of them certain articles in which she formerly paid us, the only effect would be, that she would be obliged to pay us in some other. If the whole amount of our imports of manufactures from a particular country were not sufficient to pay for our exports of produce to that country, the immediate result would be a specie balance in our favor on that branch of our trade. If our whole imports of British manufactures, for example, are not sufficient to pay for our exports of agricultural produce to England, there will be a specie balance due to us on this branch of our foreign trade. Exchange on New-York and Boston will be at a premium in England, just as exchange on England has heretofore generally been at a premium at New-York and Boston. But the money balance, thus due to us, would probably not be remitted in cash to the United States. It would be paid to the American merchant by the British manufacturer in bills on some other part of the world, where it would be invested in any articles—such as wines, teas, spices, silks, or fruits,—which are not produced in this country. Until the productive capacity of the rest of the world is so far exhausted, or that of the United States so far increased, that there is no article of use, luxury, or comfort to be found abroad, which is not also produced at home—a period which may be expected to arrive some time after the opening of the millennium—there is no danger of a falling off in our foreign trade for want of something to make up a return cargo; and as the articles of British manufacture, which we have hitherto received in exchange for our agricultural produce, are among the least bulky in proportion to their value, the change to which we allude in the course of our foreign trade, would have a tendency to increase rather than diminish the extent of our navigation.

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Mr. Mc Duffie alludes in the speech before us to an article in the number of this journal for last January, in which we introduced nearly the same ideas that we have now expressed respecting the effect of a diminished importation of British manufactures upon the state of our exchange with England, and he represents us as stating, that this effect would be an increase in the amount of gold and silver current in this country. He also represents us as holding the opinion, that such an increase of gold and silver would be a national advantage, and enters into an argument of some length for the purpose of showing that we are wrong on both these points. The learned gentleman has misunderstood us in regard to both, and we regret the circumstance the more, as we had endeavored to make known our views upon them very distinctly, in the hope, which we ventured to express at the time, that they would not be mistaken. We stated before, as we have now done, that if the value of our imports of British manufactures fell below that of our exports to England, there would be a specie balance in our favor on the adjustment of the account between the two countries. This proposition appears to us sufficiently clear. We did not, however, affirm or mean to be understood, that this balance would be actually remitted to the United States in specie, or if it were, that it would increase the amount of gold and silver current in the country—still less that such increase, if it really took place, would be a national benefit. We remarked on the contrary, that the balance in question would probably be invested abroad, and that 'our merchants would bring home more silks, claret and sherry, than they did before.' As respects the general principle, we pointedly and distinctly disclaimed at considerable length the theory of the mercantile system, which supposes that an importation of the precious metals is a great positive benefit, and disclaiming at the same time the opposite heresy of the Edinburgh reviewer—who had asserted that the reverse of the mercantile theory was true, and that there was a great positive benefit in regularly paying out specie—we professed our belief in the modern doctrine, which considers both operations as matters of indifference in themselves, and as no otherwise important than as they indicate and enter into the general course of trade. Mr. Mc Duffie will perceive, therefore, that instead of *gravely maintaining* what we consider with him as 'a gross and palpable absurdity,' we—gravely enough, if he pleases—maintained exactly the opposite

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opinion; having stated upon this subject—doubtless in a very inferior form—precisely the same ideas with his own. We hold with him, that an importation of specie is of no more benefit to the country, than an importation of any other article of equal value; but we do not quite agree with him in regard to the importance, which he attaches to the circumstance of obtaining a return for our exports to each foreign country in its own particular produce. If the Carolina planter, who exports cotton to England, receive a return for it in bills of exchange or specie, which he invests and brings home in the produce of France, Spain, Turkey, or China, we conceive, that the transaction is not less beneficial to himself, and considerably more so to the domestic manufacturer and navigator, than if he had brought home his returns in British hard-ware and broadcloth.

It results from the above remarks, that although it be the general effect of the growth of domestic manufactures, to occasion a decline of foreign trade, that of the United States forms in this respect, an exception to the common rule. It has accordingly hitherto flourished, and will probably continue to flourish under the existing system, as much as it could possibly have done under any other. This consideration leads us to mention the third and most decisive objection to the argument of Mr. Cambreleng, and this is,

3. That the statement of facts, which forms the basis of it, is directly the reverse of the truth. Our navigation, instead of having declined since the peace, as Mr. Cambreleng affirms, has in all its branches steadily and rapidly advanced through the whole period intervening between that event and the present day. The errors contained in the report, as well respecting the state of our own navigation, as that of Great Britain, with which Mr. Cambreleng compares it, are so numerous and of so extraordinary a character, as to render the document a real curiosity. The most important of them were distinctly pointed out and corrected soon after the publication of the report in an able series of papers in the Essex Register, and in a well-written pamphlet published at Baltimore, from which we shall take the liberty to borrow such details, as may suit our purpose.

The leading statement of Mr. Cambreleng on this subject is, that 'our navigation has remained, at best, stationary since the peace, while that of our rival has been rapidly advancing in all its branches.' We proceed to examine the correctness of this

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assertion, and in so doing, shall consider the state of our navigation under its two principal branches of the foreign and coasting trade.

It is well known, that the vessels which are employed respectively in the foreign and coasting trade, are provided with different papers, called in the one case a *Register*, and in the other a *License*, and that a separate account is kept at the public offices of the number and description of each class. In the document No. 5, to which Mr. Cambreleng refers in support of his assertion, that our navigation has been at best stationary since the peace, he gives a table of the annual amount of tonnage, recorded under each of these heads, for every year, from 1815 till 1828. It appears from this table, that the amount of registered or foreign tonnage for the two years, 1816 and 1817, was greater than usual, and that for 1828 less. By taking advantage of this circumstance, Mr. Cambreleng deduces from the table in two passages of his report, two different conclusions, both unfavorable to the state of this branch of our navigation. In one instance, by taking an average of the amount for the two years, 1816 and 1817, and comparing it with that for 1828, he makes out an actual decrease of rather more than 4000 tons, and in another, by comparing the amount for the single year 1816, with that for 1828, he makes out an actual decrease of more than 50,000 tons. Now, if instead of employing this obviously unfair method, we take an average of the annual amount of tonnage for the former half of the period, and compare it with a similar one for the latter, it will appear that the latter is greater than the former by more than 50,000 tons. It results, therefore, from Mr. Cambreleng's own table fairly used, that our registered tonnage, instead of being *at best stationary*, or as he states it in numbers, *really declining*, has obtained a very considerable increase during the period in question. This error, palpable as it is, is however not the most singular one in this part of the statement.

In a note to his document No. 4, he informs us, that the official registry of tonnage was corrected in 1818—that up to that period, it contained many vessels that had been lost or sold or had decayed, and that in that year the number of these was ascertained, and the registry corrected accordingly. As he had been at the trouble to inform himself and Congress that the tonnage tables had been corrected, we should naturally have expected, that he would have given himself and that body the

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benefit of the correction in the references which he might have occasion to make to these documents. Instead of this, we find him copying on the page, next following that in which we are told that the correction has been made, the *uncorrected table.* Now the employment of one or the other of these tables, is not a matter of indifference to the question at issue. The uncorrected table gives, as we have seen, according to Mr. Cambreleng's method of using it, an actual decrease in the amount of our registered tonnage, and even on a fair and natural construction, a comparatively moderate increase. The corrected table exhibits for the period of eleven years following 1818, which it includes, an increase of 202,531 tons: and supposing the increase to have been the same during the two preceding years, it would give a total increase since the peace of 220,000 tons, or about one third of the whole amount employed at that period.*

Such are the real facts in regard to the, *at best stationary state* of our navigation, as respects the registered or foreign tonnage; and such are the methods, by the employment of which, the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce is enabled to deduce this consolatory conclusion from documents and information in his own possession, which tend in their natural use to one of a directly opposite character. Let us now proceed to examine the situation of the other great branch of our navigation, viz. the coasting trade. We shall find the errors of Mr. Cambreleng on this head, even more extraordinary and inexplicable than they are on the other.

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*The following are the two tables mentioned in the text.

UNCORRECTED TABLE. 1815 to 1828.			CORRECTED TABLE. 1818 to 1828.		
	Registered.	Licensed.		Registered.	Licensed.
1815,	700,500	408,430			
16,	877,462	463,657			
17,	780,136	541,030			
18,	755,101	661,831	1818,	606,088	618,480
19,	783,579	679,493	19,	612,930	647,134
20,	801,253	730,153	20,	619,047	660,065
21,	769,084	718,158	21,	619,896	677,137
22,	747,887	720,278	22,	628,150	693,415
23,	806,331	659,015	23,	639,920	671,765
24,	845,758	688,426	24,	669,972	697,580
25,	886,511	645,960	25,	700,788	699,262
26,	910,635	798,815	26,	737,978	762,153
27,	900,199	868,171	27,	766,903	
28,	824,781	881,459	28,	812,619	

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The table of enrolled and licensed tonnage, to which we have already alluded, states the amount for 1815, at 408,430
and that for 1828, at 881,459

and gives of course an actual increase during the period since the peace, of 473,029
or considerably more than a hundred per cent. on the amount employed at the close of the war. In the teeth of this official and unanswerable evidence, furnished by himself, of an actual increase of a hundred per cent. in fifteen years, Mr. Cambreleng, after an idle attempt to explain it away, concludes his paragraph on the coasting trade with the astonishing assertion, that this branch of our navigation is at present in a stationary or declining condition. In a note upon one of his documents he goes even farther than this, and affirms, with a qualification to which we shall presently allude, that we have actually less enrolled and licensed tonnage now than we had in 1807, the amount for that year being stated by himself at 360,834 tons, and that for 1828 at 881,459,—the difference or increase in the interval being, of course, 520,625.

The methods by which Mr. Cambreleng endeavors to reconcile his conclusions in regard to the coasting trade, with the facts and documents brought forward by himself, which, as we have seen, contradict them at every turn, are worth attention. In ascertaining the state of the foreign tonnage, he employs, as we have mentioned, the uncorrected table, which gave a less favorable result than the corrected one. As respects the coasting tonnage it so happens, that the result furnished by the uncorrected table is the most favorable. In this case the patriotic Chairman insists on making a correction, and in order to ascertain how large the correction ought to be, employs the following curious process. In 1818, he remarks, the table of registered tonnage was corrected, and a deduction was made on account of the vessels lost, sold or decayed, which had hitherto remained upon the list, of 200,000 tons. Now, the error on this account in the table of the coasting tonnage, must be—says Mr. Cambreleng—(why does not appear, the amount in each being not materially different) at least half as great as the other; and we must, therefore, correct the statement of the coasting tonnage for 1818, by deducting on the account just mentioned, 100,000 tons. This ingenious argument is liable to only two slight objections; one of which is, that the error discov-

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ered in the foreign tonnage table in 1818 amounted to 150,000 tons instead of 200,000, so that the conjectural emendation of Mr. Cambreleng should be reduced, on his own shewing, to 75,000, and the other, that this conjectural emendation is directly at variance with the ascertained fact. The coasting tonnage table has been corrected as well as the foreign one, and the error in the former has been found to be immaterial. If it was proper to use the uncorrected rather than the corrected tables, why did not Mr. Cambreleng employ the former in ascertaining the coasting as well as the foreign tonnage? If it was proper to take advantage of the corrections, why not do it in one case as well as in the other? If there was any reason for correcting the coasting tonnage table and not the foreign, why not employ for this purpose the corrected table of coasting tonnage, instead of a conjectural emendation founded on the corrected table of foreign tonnage, of which no account whatever had been taken, as respects the object for which it was intended? It would be difficult, we fear, to give any plausible answer to these questions, excepting that the results obtained from these documents, according to their natural construction, are highly satisfactory, and that it was necessary to the argument of the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce to obtain from them, in one way or another, such as would present the state of our navigation under an unfavorable point of view.

Again; we are told by Mr. Cambreleng, that the sum given in the table as the amount of coasting tonnage for 1828, includes 277,804 tons of foreign tonnage, which is occasionally employed in the coasting trade, but which is included in the foreign tonnage for the same year, and ought not of course to appear in both tables. It is worthy of remark, that this gentleman, in calculating the amount of the foreign tonnage of Great Britain, employs without objection or observation, for the purpose of swelling it, a table, which is known to include the whole coasting tonnage, excepting vessels under fifteen tons. Such are the different sorts of measure which this patriotic American metes out to his own and a rival country. But without dwelling at present on this difference, let us look at the essential validity of the correction. The coasting tonnage, we are told, comprehends 277,804 tons of foreign tonnage, which have only been included since the mode of keeping the coasting tonnage account was changed, and ought to be deducted

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from the amount for 1828. On what authority the amount of foreign tonnage included in the coasting trade table is fixed precisely at the above sum, or when the change in the mode of keeping the coasting trade account was made, we are not informed. It is certain, however, from the table, that during the period since the war, the amount of coasting tonnage has risen by a regular and gradual increase, from 408,430 to 881,459—that the abovementioned amount of foreign tonnage cannot of course have been included in it for the first time during that period—that if deducted for any one year, it must of course be deducted for all, and that this correction, as far as it may be well founded, has no bearing whatever on the question of the increase or decline of our navigation since the war.

Thirdly. The last device by which Mr. Cambreleng endeavors to reconcile an actual increase of half a million tons in the coasting trade since the peace, with his theory of *the at best stationary state* of our navigation, is by ascribing it to the augmentation of our territory and the establishment of new branches of industry. 'A just and accurate statement, if it could be made in 1828, of the tonnage in the same commercial circle which existed in 1807, would show an actual decline since the war!' And again: 'the actual augmentation of coasting tonnage since the war in the same States which existed before, as nearly as it can be estimated, is only 26,619 tons'. Without stopping to inquire how far the mode of calculation here proposed by Mr. Cambreleng is in theory just, it is sufficient to remark, that in this, as in other parts of his report, his conclusions are completely at variance with the facts and estimates, from which he deduces them. In document No. 4, he estimates the deduction to be made from the tonnage of 1828, on account of the extension of our commercial circle since the war, at 68,558 tons. Now the actual increase of coasting tonnage since the war, given by the table, is, as stated above, 473,029
deduct from this the 68,558

404,471

and we have still more than 400,000 tons of actual increase, instead of the 26,619 allowed by our liberal and correct political arithmetician.

Fourthly. In a note to the report, Mr. Cambreleng, as we intimated above, affirms, that confining the comparison to the

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circle which existed in 1807, we have actually less enrolled and licensed tonnage now, than we had in that year, when it amounted, by the table, to 360,834. Now the difference as given by the tables, between the amount of tonnage for these two years, is, as we have seen, in favor of 1828, 520,625
deduct for the extension of the commercial circle 68,558

and we have still an actual increase of 452,067

But here Mr. Cambreleng introduces a new element into his reasoning, which is not less curious than the rest. In comparing the amount of coasting tonnage for 1828 with that for 1807, we must not only confine our view to the States existing at both periods, but also to the particular branches of trade which were common to both. 'In 1807 the commerce of Maine and Georgia was trifling, and we had little or no cotton to employ our coasting vessels;' therefore, in comparing the tonnage of the two periods, we must not only leave out of view the 68,558 tons, which are allowed for the extension of the commercial circle, but we must make another deduction on account of the increase of the trade of Maine and Georgia, and especially the trade in cotton. Let us see how far this is reasonable. The object of Mr. Cambreleng is to ascertain the effect of the protecting policy upon the coasting trade. Now the object of the coasting trade in cotton is for the most part to supply our domestic manufacturers with that article, and this branch is of course the one most immediately affected by the protecting policy, which encourages these manufactures. In ascertaining the effect of the protecting policy on the coasting trade, we must, therefore, according to Mr. Cambreleng, leave out of view the precise branch of that trade which has been in a manner created by that policy, and which hardly existed at the period preceding its adoption.

So much for the attempts of Mr. Cambreleng to explain away the increase in the amount of coasting tonnage, which appears upon the face of his own table. It results from the above statements, that during the period when our navigation is represented by him as at best stationary, and in fact really declining in both its great branches, it has actually obtained in the foreign trade an accession of more than 200,000 tons, or about 33⅓ per cent., in the coasting trade an increase of more than 450,000 tons, or about 100 per cent., and in the sum total of both, an accession of more than 650,000 tons, or about 50

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per cent. upon the amount employed at the close of the war. If there be any truth in his principle, that a decline of navigation would prove the protecting policy to be erroneous, the increase which has taken place would of course very fully substantiate the contrary. In reality, the increase in the foreign tonnage is probably in a great measure a result of other causes wholly independent of this; but the increase in the coasting tonnage is, no doubt, as appears in fact, from the admission of Mr. Cambreleng himself, mainly attributable to the growth of manufactures; and is in every respect, one of the most agreeable and important results of the adoption of the protecting policy. A rapid and constantly accelerated progress in this branch of navigation (unaccompanied by any corresponding diminution in the other) will be the necessary consequence of a perseverance in this system, and will sufficiently demonstrate the erroneous nature of the apprehensions entertained by the commercial and shipping interest, of its effects upon their prosperity.

The supposed decline in our navigation since the adoption of the protecting policy turns out, therefore, to have been an increase of about 50 per cent. Whether the state of the British navigation during the same period, have or have not been as flourishing as Mr. Cambreleng has represented it, is a question of minor importance in this country; but as the errors in the part of the report in which he treats this subject, are, if possible, still more glaring than in the other, we shall proceed with as much conciseness as possible to point out some of the principal. In commencing his remarks on this head, Mr. Cambreleng avows, that he was himself surprised with the result of his researches. 'However injurious we had supposed our policy to be, we were not prepared to expect that the statements would exhibit as they do, a more rapid increase in British than in American tonnage.' On a first view of these results, the reader will probably share in the surprise of Mr. Cambreleng; but after examining the methods by which they are obtained, his surprise may perhaps cease, and he may be rather inclined to think, that by the use of such methods, it would not be difficult to procure from these or any other documents, almost any results that might suit the purpose of the inquirer. However this may be, it is certain that Mr. Cambreleng has exaggerated to an almost incredible extent the amount of British tonnage and its increase during the period

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under consideration, both positively and in comparison with the increase of that of the United States, as will amply appear from the following brief statements.

And first, as to the actual amount of British tonnage. The official registers kept in England, include a statement for each year, of the vessels employed, their tonnage, and the number of their crews. For the year 1827 the statement is as follows: 23,199 ships; 2,460,500 tons; 151,515 seamen.

The estimates of Mr. Cambreleng for the same year are as follows:

Amount of tonnage employed in the foreign trade,	2,829,869
coasting,	8,648,868
Total,	11,478,737
Deduct the actual amount as given above,	2,460,500
Over-statement by Mr. Cambreleng	9,018,237

or about 400 per cent.

Our readers, we think, will not now wonder that Mr. Cambreleng was himself surprised at the results of his researches. They were obtained by estimating the amount of tonnage employed, by the returns of clearances instead of the registers. In the former, the same vessel is returned anew every time she clears out, and if she performs more than one voyage, will of course be returned several times in the same year. In the coasting trade, and when the distances are short, as in England, the same vessel would often clear out for different ports ten or fifteen times in the course of a year, and her tonnage would be repeated as often in the return of clearances. 'Many of the British vessels,' says a British writer on the subject, 'come with one tide and return with the next.'

This consideration explains the nature of Mr. Cambreleng's over-statement, which is also owing, in part, to the confusion between the returns, in the British official statements, of clearances in the foreign and coasting trade. Mr. Cambreleng might, perhaps, say in defence of these statements, that he gives them for what they are, and that it is not his fault if the reader mistakes a return of clearances for a permanent register of tonnage. But this answer is unfortunately precluded by the use he makes of them. The object is not so much to exhibit the actual amount and increase of the British tonnage, as its actual amount and increase in comparison with those of the

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tonnage of the United States. In speaking of the American tonnage he generally quotes the permanent register, and in speaking of the British, the returns of clearances. The former gives, of course, for the same amount of navigation, much smaller numbers, and the cursory reader, naturally taking them for estimates made upon similar principles, will be led into a very gross error as to the real comparative amount of the navigation of the two countries. In regard to some of his statements, this error is nearly unavoidable. Thus he remarks: 'that the mere increase of the coasting tonnage of England for five years is more than equal to the whole enrolled and licensed tonnage of the United States.' No statement is given by Mr. Cambreleng, in any part of his report, of the enrolled and licensed tonnage of the United States, except the statement in the permanent register, and none of the British except the return of clearances. It is natural, therefore, and indeed almost necessary, that the reader should deduce from a comparison of the two estimates, a conclusion as to the comparative amount of the coasting trade of the two countries. The error in such a conclusion may be seen by the following statement:

Coasting trade of England, for 1827, according to the only statement given by Mr. Cambreleng,	8,648,868 tons.
Coasting trade of the United States for the same year, according to the only statement given by Mr. Cambreleng, (and even this he attempts to explain away, as we have seen, into half its real amount,)	868,171 "
Superiority on the British side,	7,780,697 "

or nearly eight millions of tons. The real state of the case is as follows:

Coasting trade of the United States, for the year 1827,	868,171 tons.
Coasting trade of Great Britain, from estimates made on respectable British authority,	500,000 "
Superiority on the American side,	368,171 "

or more than three hundred and fifty thousand tons. As the tables of the tonnage employed respectively in the foreign and coasting trade, are not kept in the British offices with the same distinctness as in ours, the amount of the British coasting ton-

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nage given above, is not an exact statement, but is probably a near approximation to the truth.

Again,—Mr. Cambreleng tells us, that 'while our navigation has remained at best, stationary, that of our rival advanced from 1815 to 1827, 741,840 tons—the mere increase alone in British foreign navigation, amounting nearly to the whole foreign tonnage of the United States.' In the documents referred to in support of this statement, the estimates on both sides are taken from the returns of clearances, but an attempt is made to produce in a different way, an erroneous impression as to the actual comparative amount of British and American navigation. The returns of clearances for foreign countries, as kept in the British offices, comprehend those for every part of the British empire, including Ireland; as kept in the United States, they include of course, only those for the possessions of some other power. No hint is given by Mr. Cambreleng of any such difference in the mode of making up the statements, and the reader would of course conclude, that they give a correct view of the comparative amount of the foreign tonnage of Great Britain and the United States. The extent of the error in such a conclusion, will appear from the following statement:

Foreign tonnage of Great Britain, for the year 1827, according to the statement of Mr. Cambreleng,	2,829,869 tons.
Foreign tonnage of the United States for the same year,	900,199 "
Superiority on the British side,	1,929,670 "

or nearly two millions of tons. The real state of the case is as follows:

British tonnage employed in the trade with the possessions of other powers, according to an estimate made on respectable British authority, for the year 1827,	918,213 tons.
Foreign tonnage of the United States for the same year,	900,199 "
Superiority on the British side,	18,014 "

or less than twenty thousand tons. So far is it, therefore, from being true, that the increase of British foreign tonnage since 1815 is equal to the whole amount of ours, that we find in fact the actual amount on each side just about the same.

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Such are the errors of Mr. Cambreleng in his statements of the amount of British navigation, as compared with ours. Let us now look at the reality of the supposed increase, since the close of the last war. The estimates of Mr. Cambreleng on this subject are taken exclusively from the returns of clearances, which in fact exhibit a considerable increase, not of navigation, of which, for the reasons stated above, they give no idea whatever, but of *commerce*. Whether this increase be real, or, as often happens with British official documents, merely apparent, it is unnecessary to our present purpose to inquire. The object is, in regard to both countries, to ascertain the increase of navigation; and this is given in England as well as the United States in a distinct shape in the permanent register of tonnage, to which we have alluded above. Now it so happens, that this register, instead of exhibiting the very great increase of tonnage during the period in question, which Mr. Cambreleng supposes to have taken place, exhibits on the contrary a steady and regular decline, as will appear from the following statement:

Year.	Ships.	Tons.	Seamen.
1816,	25,864,	2,784,940,	178,000,
1827,	23,199,	2,460,500,	151,515,
Decrease,	2,665,	324,440,	26,485,

Here we have an actual decrease of more than three hundred thousand tons in the amount of navigation employed in Great Britain, during the period which Mr. Cambreleng represents as so very flourishing; and it appears upon an inspection of the statements for each year of this period, that this decrease has been steadily and regularly going on through the whole.*

* The following table exhibits the state of British navigation through the whole period:

Year.	Ships.	Tons.	Seamen.
1816,	25,864	2,784,940	178,000
1817,	25,246	2,684,986	171,013
1818.	25,507	2,674,468	173,609
1819,	25,482	2,666,396	174,318
1820,	25,374	2,648,593	174,514
1821,	25,036	2,560,303	169,183
1822,	24,642	2,519,044	166,333
1823,	24,542	2,506,760	165,474
1824,	24,776	2,559,587	168,637
1825,	24,280	2,553,682	166,183
1826,	24,625	2,635,644	167,536
1827,	23,199	2,460,500	151,515

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There are other errors, hardly less glaring than those which we have indicated, in other parts of the statements contained in this report; but we have not room to notice them all in detail, and have confined ourselves to those, which directly affect the correctness of the conclusions. We are not disposed to found upon these errors a charge against Mr. Cambreleng of intentional misrepresentation; although such a charge might perhaps be sustained with some degree of plausibility. We have been heretofore accused of *excess of charity*, and at the risk of encountering anew the same imputation, we are willing to attribute the incorrectness of this document to the haste with which it was probably prepared, in the midst of the urgent and distracting occupations incident to the position of a leading member of Congress. But while we cheerfully exonerate Mr. Cambreleng from this imputation, we may venture perhaps to remind him, that a writer who expects—if necessary—to be allowed the benefit of the plea of hasty preparation,—should announce his conclusions with somewhat less assurance. A dogmatical and overbearing tone, which is always ungraceful, when found in union with a series of errors, unparalleled probably in any official paper of the same description, is still more objectionable, and may even be thought to border on the ludicrous.

We now come to the other subject, which we intended to treat in this article—we mean the speeches of Mr. Mc Duffie, on the bill for the prevention of frauds in the collection of the revenue. These speeches contain—as we remarked at the outset—an entirely new theory upon an important question in political economy, the discussion of which, in all its details, would furnish ample matter for a long article, and would occupy much more room than we now have at our disposal. A discussion of this kind is, however, the less necessary on this occasion—not only because the erroneous nature of this theory was very distinctly and satisfactorily pointed out on the floor of Congress, immediately after its promulgation, by several distinguished Representatives from different parts of the Union, and particularly from this State, but especially because it does not appear to have obtained the assent of the political friends and associates of Mr. Mc Duffie himself. Mr. Cambreleng expressed his dissent from it in his place in Congress, and the writer of an article in the Southern Review, on the American System, distinctly disavows it. Under these circumstances, it

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can only be regarded as the individual opinion of Mr. Mc Duffie, with perhaps a few of his intimate friends, and however justly entitled it might be, as such, to the most respectful consideration in a treatise on the science, it does not call for so much attention, when the principal object is to examine the views taken of this subject by the great opposing parties that divide the country. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves to a comparatively small number of observations on this particular head, but shall endeavor within the compass allotted to it, to place the subject in as clear a point of view as possible.

The theory, then,—as we understand it,—is, that the planter or producer of our agricultural exports, pays, *as such*, the whole, or if not the whole, a considerable portion of the duties imposed on the British manufactures, which we receive in exchange for them. Now the greater part of these exports are raised by a comparatively small minority of the whole population, who are thus made to bear an undue proportion of the public burdens, and have a right to complain of the system that imposes them as unequal and oppressive. Of the various considerations that may be and have been alleged in opposition to the truth of this theory, we shall mention one or two of those, which appear to us the most peremptory.

1. If the planter pay the duties on the manufactures received in exchange for his products, he must pay them either directly or through the increased price of the imported articles, which he consumes; because there is no other way in which his money can pass from his pocket into the public coffers. It is admitted, that he does not in his quality of producer, pay them directly, and if he pay them at all, he must therefore pay them in the increased price of imported articles. But all that he pays in this way, he of course pays as consumer, and it is therefore impossible, that he can in his quality of producer pay any thing.

In order to avoid this very obvious dilemma, Mr Mc Duffie resorts to the expedient of suppressing entirely, in his view of the economical arrangements of the community, the intervention of the merchant, which regularly takes place between the producer and the consumer. He supposes the merchant to be a mere factor of the producer, who on this supposition pays as such through his factor, the merchant, the whole duty directly into the treasury. Now this mode of stating the case is obviously wholly inadmissible. The merchant is the factor of the

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consumer, as well as of the producer, and if his being the factor of the producer prove that the producer pays the duty, his being the factor of the consumer would prove in the same way, that the consumer pays the duty. The argument—if it have any weight—proves that the duty is paid twice over by two different classes of persons, and of course proves nothing. The conclusion, that the producer, as such, does not and cannot pay any part of the duty, remains unaffected by it.

2. But as the strength of the case admits of almost any concession, let us grant, for argument's sake, that the merchant is the factor of the producer only, and that the latter, as such, and through his factor, the merchant, advances the whole duty to the Government. It is not less certain on this supposition than it is on the other, that the whole is refunded to him by the consumer, and that he finally pays no part of it, excepting as we remarked before, as a consumer, in the increased price of the imported articles which he reserves for his own consumption. In this case the value of the imported article is augmented in the American market, to the exact extent of the duty imposed on it. The consumer who buys it, of course pays to the producer a sum equal to the value of the article as it enters the American market, with the addition of the duty. The producer pays over the duty to the Government, and retains the whole produce of his labor free of any charge.

But, says Mr. Mc Duffie, the planter has no means of raising the price of the imported article, in such a way as to throw the duty on the consumer. If he continue to export the same quantity of cotton, he must of course take in exchange the same quantity of foreign produce, and the demand and supply being thus the same, the price will of course remain unaltered, and the duty must be paid out of it by the planter.*

It is no doubt true, that the planter, while his export of cotton remains the same, must of course receive in exchange for it the same quantity of foreign produce; but it is not true, as is

* It is curious to remark the complete contradiction between the views taken of the operation of protecting duties, by different classes of the persons who oppose them. In this quarter of the country, they are complained of as raising the prices of imported articles. On the other hand, Mr. Mc Duffie—the leading Representative in Congress of the Southern section of the anti-tariff party—founds his whole argument against them on the supposition, that they do not and cannot increase the price of the foreign article.

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here supposed, that he must necessarily receive the same quantity in the same articles, or in the products of the same country. When it ceases to be profitable to import certain articles of British manufacture, in consequence of the duties imposed upon them in this country, he will take others. If there are no others of British manufacture suitable to the American market, he will then, as we have already remarked, after purchasing as much of the articles he formerly imported as will sell at an advanced price, receive the rest of the proceeds of his cargo in specie or bills of exchange, which he will send to France to be invested in claret and silks, or to any other country where he can find a product adapted to our consumption. This very obvious answer to the leading point in Mr. Mc Duffie's argument was stated with perfect distinctness by Mr. Gorham and others on the floor of Congress, and was met by no satisfactory reply. It was said, indeed, by Mr. Mc Duffie, that we already import as much French wine, and in general as much of all foreign produce as we have a market for, and that consequently a diminished importation of British products cannot be compensated by an increased importation of those of France, Spain or China. It does not appear to have occurred to him, that the mere fact of our ceasing to consume a certain quantity of British manufactures—all other circumstances remaining the same—furnishes us with the means of purchasing,—or in other words creates a market for an additional quantity of other foreign articles, which may now of course be imported at their former prices. The planter being, therefore, at perfect liberty to bring home in exchange for his cotton any article which may best suit his purpose, will of course take of the taxed article only so much as will sell at the increased price, which throws the duty on the consumer.

There are, therefore, two leading errors in the theory of Mr. Mc Duffie, either of which would be of itself completely fatal to his conclusions. He is wrong in the first place, in stating that the planter, through his agent or factor, the merchant, advances the custom-house duty to the Government. The merchant is the agent, not of the planter, but of all the parties concerned in the importation, and advances the duty for the one that ultimately pays it. To say that he advances it for the planter is, therefore, to assume precisely the point in dispute. Again, if we admit for argument's sake, that the merchant is the factor of the planter only, and that the latter through him

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does advance the duty, it is still certain that the whole is refunded to him by the consumer in the increased price of the article, and that he ultimately pays no part of it out of his own pocket.

It may be assumed, in fact, as a general principle, and it is one which is freely admitted, or rather spontaneously affirmed as a fundamental truth in the science, by the writers on political economy, that it is impossible to lay any tax, of which the burden does not ultimately fall alike upon all classes of the community. If the whole revenue of the country were raised in the form of an export duty on cotton or an excise on spirits, neither the cotton planter in the one case, nor the distiller in the other, would pay, in the last result, one cent more than his fair proportion of the public expenses; although one or the other of these modes of raising a revenue might, for special reasons, be more or less advantageous to the country than those now in use.

If we had room to pursue this subject on the present occasion into all its branches, we might enlarge without impropriety upon the extraordinary inconsistency between the premises of Mr. Mc Duffie—supposing them to be even somewhat more plausible than they are—and his conclusions. He complains that his State is oppressed in such a way as to justify a resort to actual resistance, or at least, nullification, and when called on for proof of the assertion, brings forward a theory in political economy never before started, directly opposed to the generally received opinion, and on the face of it, in the highest degree paradoxical and improbable, and rests his case entirely on its correctness. He virtually says to Congress 'if you do not at once adopt and act upon this new doctrine of mine, which nobody ever heard of before, which is at open variance with the common sense of the world, and with the opinions of all the writers, including our great authority Adam Smith, to whom I am most fond of appealing, which is even disavowed by my own most intelligent political friends; if, I say, you do not at once adopt this paradox and make it the basis of all your legislation on economical subjects, South Carolina will revolt against you and secede from the Union.' We have a high personal respect for Mr. Mc Duffie, and feel no wish to represent his course as more unjustifiable than it really is, but we must needs say, that in our observations on practical legislation and administration, we have met

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with very few things more extravagant than this. A merely speculative writer on any branch of science, usually thinks it due to the authority of public opinion to bring forward an entirely new and paradoxical theory with some degree of diffidence. But we have here a discoverer in political economy, who broaches his inventions on the floor of Congress, and would force his colleagues to approve and act upon them *instanter* at the point of the nullifying bayonet. A gentleman of the talent and general intelligence of Mr. Mc Duffie, must surely be aware that new theories—however well supported and probable—gain ground, and in the nature of things must and ought to gain ground, very slowly on public opinion; that even individuals of common prudence allow themselves time for examination and reflection, before they stake their reputation or their property upon the value of any supposed discovery. It is much if an improvement in abstract science have obtained, at the end of half a century from its promulgation, a complete victory over the preceding opinion, and until it has obtained such a victory, taken its place among received truths, and become a matter of general acknowledgment with competent judges, it is no safe ground even for private action in affairs of consequence, still less for the regulation of the great and momentous concerns of a mighty empire. A deliberative body, which should at once break up its whole established system in a most important branch of the administration, and rush headlong into a new course of policy, upon the mere suggestion by one of its members, (however able and ingenious) of a supposed discovery in political science, would prove its own fitness for the cells of a lunatic hospital, rather than the halls of a legislative assembly. Yet such is the precise line of proceeding which Mr. Mc Duffie, in the name of the State of South Carolina, enjoins, under penalty of nullification and rebellion, upon the Congress of the United States.

It is not our purpose, however, on the present occasion, to examine the political bearings of this subject, and we return to a consideration of it under a merely economical point of view. In our previous remarks on the report of Mr. Cambreleng, we showed, that instead of the decline of navigation, supposed by that gentleman to have taken place since the adoption of the protecting policy, there had been an actual increase of about 50 per cent., a great part of which might be traced directly to the influence of the growth of manufactures. It would be easy to

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show in like manner, that the theory of Mr. Mc Duffie is not only—as we have already seen—entirely unsubstantial, but that it is directly the reverse of the truth, and that the protecting policy, instead of being injurious to the cotton planter, is highly beneficial to him, and is precisely the system of which he ought for his own interest to desire the adoption. Without pretending to exhaust this, or indeed any other branch of the subject, we shall endeavor to illustrate it by a few brief remarks.

The demand for our cotton in the markets of Europe is determined, not by the amount of this or that particular article which we take from them, but by the demand for cotton manufactures in the general market of the world. As the cost of the material is a comparatively unimportant element in the value of the finished article, it is of course for the interest of the European manufacturer to buy the material wherever it can be got cheapest and best, without the least reference to any inferior considerations, which, under other circumstances, might have more or less weight. As long as our cotton maintains its superiority as to quality and cheapness, they will, therefore, take it in preference to any other; and will pay us for it in any merchandise, which may be for the time being best adapted to the state of our market. They have hitherto paid us in manufactures of certain descriptions. If the demand for these, whether by the effect of protecting duties or of any other cause, be diminished, they will send us others, which we in turn, as has been shewn above, by the mere fact of ceasing to consume those which we formerly did, have the means of paying for. The foreign demand for cotton is therefore entirely unaffected by the protecting policy, and will increase, diminish, or remain stationary, exactly as if no such policy had ever been adopted; or if diminished at all, is only diminished in the proportion which the consumption by us of foreign cotton manufactures bore to the general consumption of the world. But if the foreign demand for our cotton be in this way, as it probably would be, a little diminished, the domestic one would be increased in a much greater proportion by another effect of the same cause. When we cease to consume the foreign articles of the same description, in consequence of the operation of protecting duties, we begin to consume the corresponding ones of our own manufacture; and the consumption of the latter is naturally much more extensive than that of the former ever could have been—

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first, because they come in the end a great deal cheaper, being relieved from the charge of transportation for an immense distance by land and water, and secondly, because a large part of the population who produce articles which could not be exported, either on account of their bulk and perishable nature or the prohibitions of foreign nations, are enabled to purchase when the manufacture is brought to their doors. The consumption of the domestic article is, therefore, much more extensive than that of the foreign one ever can be, and the demand for the materials employed in making it proportionately increased by the substitution of the former for the latter. Experience has already demonstrated the truth of this remark. The British exports of cottons to this country never exceeded a tenth part of her whole exports of that article; and it is calculated that her home consumption of cottons is about equal in amount to her exports, so that if there had been no increase in our home consumption of cotton goods in consequence of the substitution of the domestic for the foreign fabric, the home demand for raw cotton ought not to be more than a twentieth of the British. But it is calculated that we already consume at home an amount of cotton, equal to one third of the amount consumed in Great Britain. As the cotton manufacture extends into the different parts of the country, the importance of this increase in the home demand will be more and more distinctly perceived; and we venture to predict, that before the present discussions on the subject of the tariff have been brought to a close in any other way, they will have been completely settled, so far as the planters are concerned, by a growing conviction in their minds, that the encouragement by every possible means of domestic manufactures is the very best policy that could be adopted for the promotion of their immediate interest.

And while the protecting policy confers these important benefits on the planters of the South, it is attended—as we remarked at the outset of this article—with advantages of a not less important character to the other great interests of the community. The growth of a domestic manufacturing population, affords to the Middle and Western States a home market for their grain without diminishing the foreign one, which is occasionally open to them in seasons of scarcity. In this way they obtain the means of exchanging their surplus produce, which in ordinary times is excluded from foreign markets, for the various articles of use and luxury, of which they have

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hitherto been compelled to forego the enjoyment. The Eastern States, in consequence of their limited extent and comparatively sterile soil, afford but little scope for the extension of agriculture, but possess on the other hand in their numerous, hardy, enterprising and intelligent population, and in their large amount of accumulated capital, great facilities for the establishment of manufactures, of which they will probably become the principal seat. In the transportation of the products of this branch of industry to other parts of the Union and to other countries, the navigators of this section, of whose courage, perseverance, skill and success, we have had at every period of our history, and in every form, so much reason to be proud, will find a compensation for the loss of the carrying trade of the world, which fell into their hands for a time during the troubles of Europe, but which, under ordinary circumstances, they can never expect to possess. In this and every other section of the country, the population, by being furnished with new employments for their labor, and new markets for its produce at home, are prevented from seeking them in the distant and unsettled regions of the interior of the continent; and the tide of emigration, without being wholly dammed up, is in some degree checked. In speaking of this as an advantage, we are not influenced by any feeling of jealousy towards the rising communities of the Western country. We experience on the contrary a glow of pride and pleasure, when we contemplate the before unexampled spectacle of progress and prosperity which they all exhibit. We look upon them as the kindred progeny of that illustrious *mother of men*, New-England, and hail them with affection and interest as our beloved brethren. But we consider it as not less advantageous to them than it is to us, that their resources should be employed, in part at least, in raising the standard of civilisation and increasing the enjoyments of life in the settled parts of the country, rather than devoted exclusively to the breaking up of new tracts in the wilderness. It is said, that the emigration from Ohio and Kentucky is proportionally at least as great, as from Massachusetts and Connecticut. The older Southern States, Virginia and the Carolinas in particular, are drained of their people by the superiority, real or supposed, of the soil in Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, and as appears from the results of the recent census, have lost more by emigration than any other part of the country. This is the real cause of the decline of some

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of these States, and the American System, instead of being, as they erroneously imagine, the cause of this decline, is on the contrary the real and only cure for it. The influence of this policy is not, therefore, as it has sometimes been represented—a bounty granted by the Government for the encouragement of a single branch of industry—but it is a common and equal benefit to all the great interests in all sections of the Union. It is a benefit not merely in an economical, but in a moral and political point of view. It substitutes for a restless and fluctuating condition of society, wholly incompatible with any considerable progress in improvement, the steady pursuit of honorable ends by honorable means, which is the true secret of public prosperity and private wealth and happiness.

We stated, at the commencement of this article, that it is the effect of the protecting policy, and of the growth of domestic manufactures, to reduce the prices which we pay for the necessaries and comforts of life; and such, by the united testimony of experience and theory, is the result of this system. It is sometimes alleged, however, as an objection to this part of the argument, that, in consequence of the crowded state of population, and the amount of accumulated capital existing in Europe, the wages of labor are naturally much lower there than they are with us, and that this single circumstance will always enable the European manufacturer to furnish as good an article at a cheaper rate. This objection involves an error, which we have not yet seen distinctly pointed out, and which, as it goes to the root of the argument, it may be proper to notice in a very few words.

The theory of the wages of labor, upon which the modern school of British political economists have thrown so much obscurity by their extravagant and wholly baseless imaginations, is extremely simple. The wages of labor are its products. Whatever the laborer is able to produce in a given period, excepting so far as the Government may interfere, and take away a part of it, is the amount of his wages for that period; and the average amount of the produce of the labor of individuals for a given period constitutes the average rate of wages for that time. Hence the rate of wages varies in different countries according to the intelligence, activity, and moral habits of their respective inhabitants. If the citizens of the United States, by the effect of greater industry, intelligence, enterprise, perseverance, and other good moral qualities, will

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do on an average twice as much work in a day as those of the old countries of Europe, the rate of wages will be twice as high in this country as in Europe; and such is in fact very nearly the real state of the case. But it does not follow from this, that a given article, or a given amount of the same article, when made by a citizen of the United States, will be dearer there than it is when made in Europe. The value of a particular article is determined by the amount of labor employed in producing it; the wages of labor are determined by the amount of products, which the laborer can furnish in a given time. An industrious and active tailor will make twice as many coats in a year as a lazy one; and the wages of his labor, that is, the amount of his products for a given time, will of course be double. The price of a coat made by each will be the same. The difference between the average rate of wages in different countries, is determined exclusively by the state of civilization; that is, the political, intellectual, and moral condition of the people, and has no effect whatever on the cost of a particular quantity of the articles produced by each. Hence the United States, though the wages of labor should continue to be, as they now are, and we trust always will be, twice as high as they are in any other part of the world, will be able to produce at home—all other circumstances being equal—cotton cloths, hard-ware, or any other article, just as cheap as it can be furnished in France, England, or China. And this being the case, the domestic article, which is not burdened with the charge of transportation, will of course be cheaper than the foreign one. The truth of this principle is amply and unanswerably demonstrated by the history of our navigation. The labor employed in building and sailing our ships is paid, on an average, like every other branch of labor, twice as high as it is in Europe. Notwithstanding this, we have notoriously driven out of the common market of the world the products of the labor of every other people in this department, whenever we could come into competition with them. Even England, the other great commercial and navigating power, permits us to carry on nine-tenths of all the trade between the two countries. On the modern theories of the wages of labor, and their effect on the value of its products, this result would be an inexplicable mystery; but when we look at the matter by the light of plain common sense, the reason of it is perfectly obvious. A ship built by our shipwrights, commanded by our shipmasters, and manned by our

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seamen, will make twice as many voyages, always with twice as good a chance of success and profit, in a given time, as one that is fitted out in Sweden, Holland, or even Great Britain. This being the case, it is obvious, that all the parties interested in one of these ships or voyages can afford to allow the shipwrights, shipmasters and seamen, twice as much in proportion to the time employed, without raising in the least the market price of their own products, or deducting any thing from their profits. On the other hand, if a low rate of wages had any effect in reducing prices, it would be clearly impossible for Great Britain or the United States to enter into competition with the Hindoos in the manufacture of cotton cloth; and yet we find the latter not only excluded from our markets, but actually driven out of their own by the superior intellectual and moral qualities of the inhabitants of the western world. These considerations, which, however simple and obvious, have not, as far as we are aware, been adverted to before, will be found, we trust, to furnish a satisfactory answer to the objection mentioned above.

The results of our experience, as far as we have carried it, concur with those of all just reasoning on the subject, in demonstrating the great advantages of the protecting policy. Since its adoption, our navigation—as we have seen above—has increased more than fifty per cent.; and as this increase has chiefly taken place in the coasting trade, it must be traced directly to this cause. The results of the enumeration now in progress, and the flourishing towns and villages, that have grown up under the influence of manufacturing establishments, sufficiently evince the advantages derived from them by the inland population of the Eastern and Middle States. In these beautiful and admirable creations, the poetical fables of Orpheus and Amphion, moving rocks and building cities by the influence of their charming music, have been more than realised. We envy not the moral constitution of the man who can view without emotion these abodes of art, industry, and happiness, springing up, as if by enchantment, from the bosom of the earth, at Lowell, Springfield, Dover, Patterson, Pittsburg, and various other parts of our vast territory—still less of him, who like the sentimental laureate of England, can see nothing cheerful in a manufacturing village, because the buildings composing it, have not the hoary moss-grown appearance of an old stone cottage—as if the freshness and brilliancy of

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youth were not as pleasant things to contemplate as the symptoms—however graceful and interesting—of decay and ruin. The satisfaction afforded by the view of these rising settlements, is wholly unmingled with alloy. There is no element of evil about them, to divert the mind from the agreeable contemplations, which they naturally excite. They augment the wealth of the community, by augmenting at the same time the wealth, knowledge, virtue and happiness of its members. They restrain emigration, and preserve unbroken the family circles—cherish and invigorate the natural affections—furnish increased opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, and for social enjoyment—in one word, impart a new richness and beauty to the moral, as well as to the economical aspect of the country. The unambitious citizen, who by his enterprise, intelligence, and indefatigable perseverance, gave the first effectual impulse to this branch of industry, and who has given his name to the largest manufacturing town in this State, will be numbered hereafter with the great public benefactors of the nation; when many individuals, who filled at the time when he lived a much larger space in the view of the world, will be lost in oblivion.

Such are the advantages resulting respectively to the Northern, Middle, and Western sections of the country, from the adoption of the protecting policy. In the Southern States, which will not probably for the present become the seats of manufactures, the benefit is realised in a different way, in the increased demand for the great agricultural staples, which constitute their principal produce. The extent and importance of this demand have already been noticed. The price of cotton has no doubt fallen within a few years, partly because it was a great deal too high before, and partly from the effect of a temporary fluctuation in the state of the market; but the profits on capital invested in the cultivation of it are still, as is justly remarked by Mr. Clay in a late eloquent and able address at Cincinnati, higher than they are in most other employments, and consequently at least as high as they could reasonably be expected to be, in the ordinary course of trade.

The comparative decline of some of the planting States—as far as it is real—has been owing—as we remarked above—to the superior attractions of other climates. This difficulty is to a certain extent irremediable, but the remedy for it, as far as any can be found applicable to the case, would be furnished

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by the introduction of new employments, to the successful prosecution of which the qualities of soil and climate are of less importance; and such is the nature of almost all manufactures. This remedy has accordingly been resorted to, and with such success, as—by the admission of Mr. Mc Duffie himself—to have changed entirely the feeling of large districts upon this whole subject.

It is time, however, to bring this long, and to our readers, we fear, fatiguing article, to a close. Convinced as we are of the importance to the welfare of the nation, of a steady perseverance in the protecting policy, we should regret to see it connected in any way with passing controversies on subjects of a temporary character; and we venture to hope, that in the midst of the fluctuations of parties, and the changes in the persons of the public functionaries, the Government will never lose sight of this great and vital concern; but will, on the contrary, seek to promote it by every expedient measure within their power. The improvement of the means of communication between the different parts of the country, by roads, canals and rivers, is one of the most important subsidiary parts of this great system, and this too will, we hope, receive the attention of all branches of the Government in their respective spheres of lawful action. We regretted to find the President refusing on a late occasion to sanction an appropriation for an important purpose of this description, and may perhaps be tempted, in a future article, to make some remarks upon the spirit and substance of the message conveying this refusal. In the mean time, however, we may express the satisfaction we feel, at seeing that the President, while he declined, for reasons which we cannot but deem insufficient, to exercise in this instance the power of taking part in measures intended for the internal improvement of the country, concurred in the opinion that this power belongs to the General Government, and declared anew his intention of giving a temperate, but steady support to the protecting policy. Attempts will doubtless be made in Congress and elsewhere, for some time to come, to undermine, in this respect, the established system of the country, and procure its change; but we have reason to hope, and if the friends of the system are as active and persevering as its enemies, to believe, that these attempts will be, as they have hitherto been, ineffectual. The efforts making in South Carolina to frighten the Government into the adoption of other measures, by threats of nullification and forcible resistance to the law, are not, in our

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opinion, the most dangerous attacks to which this system is exposed. The effect of these absurd pretensions, and empty menaces, is to excite disgust rather than alarm, and by a natural reaction, to defeat the purposes of their authors. A much more plausible and politic mode of attack upon the tariff, is the one which was pursued with partial success at the last session of Congress, and will doubtless be followed up at future ones, founded in the old Machiavelian principle, *divide and conquer*. By addressing successively their sectional interests, it is hoped, that portions of the friends of the protecting policy may be induced to combine with its enemies for the repeal of particular articles of the law, until the whole shall be finally destroyed in detail. The nature of this plan of attack and the motives which have led to its adoption, are very fairly avowed in the speeches and writings of those who propose to act upon it, so that there can be no pretence of mistake on the subject. If the friends of the American System have not the firmness to resist the allurements of the bait thus held out to them, they will at least have the satisfaction of going into the trap with their eyes open, and a full knowledge of the consequences. We take for granted, however, that the majority of an American Congress will not be very readily duped by so simple a stratagem—that they will see and feel that their only safety is in union, and will rally with unbroken unanimity, without regard to any temptation of apparent personal or sectional advantage, round the standard of the principles and interests common to them all. Should this be the case, we can venture to assure them beforehand of a decided victory.

ART. VII.—*The History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of North America till the British Revolution in* 1688. By JAMES GRAHAME, Esq. In two Volumes. London. 1827.

In this country, and more particularly in this section of it, we are fond of celebrating the virtues of our forefathers. We delight to honor their memory by festive anniversaries and eloquent panegyric. Yet it is much to be feared, that this is not the right way to come at that real history, and those cool and rational conclusions, which can alone be supposed likely to confer permanent benefit. Orators are necessarily obliged to

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excite their hearers. Mere reasoning will not suffice. They must mingle spices in their dish. Yet when a people become accustomed to such rich substances, there is danger that they may reject more natural food. The taste must be totally unvitiated, to relish much of the graver historical sketches of our early times; for it may candidly be admitted, now that the case is altered, that heretofore dulness has shed her sleepy influence upon pages calculated to convey a lesson of real utility to our country and mankind.

The public, as a body, feels and talks, long before it takes the trouble to think. A process of reasoning, let it be ever so good, is an intellectual effort which few will be at the pains of appreciating, when the same result can be sooner arrived at through the medium of the passions. If this were not true, we should be puzzled to account for the fact, that, with all the apparent enthusiasm upon the subject, a book like Mr. Grahame's should have been published three years, and its merits still remain to be understood in America. The only attempt within our knowledge in a member of the old country to examine thoroughly and consider candidly the phenomena of our early history, has been neglected in a manner which might fairly authorize the inference, that, with all our noise, we really care little about the merits of the matter. Not that we admit the soundness of such an inference. The causes of this state of things must be found elsewhere.

The work at the head of these remarks has (so far as we are informed) met with little notice in the parent country; and this is probably one of the reasons why it has been overlooked here. It is yet too much the case with our reading world, that we are apt to form our opinions of the merit of books from the notice they receive in the leading English periodical publications. A newspaper advertisement always contains extracts from the reviews, inserted by re-publishers of works here, as a kind of certificate of value, to help the sales. Independence in matters of literature seems little aimed at or encouraged; and, however different the views of things should be when seen through an American medium, they are, in fact, generally in accordance with the positive assertions, roundly and familiarly dealt to us from across the water. Few subjects of a political or historical nature exist, upon which our system of government and civil institutions would not naturally lead us into a train of sentiment somewhat different from that en-

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tertained upon the same subjects in England. Every day loosens more and more any ties, which may once have closely connected us. In any attempt, therefore, to follow in the path they mark out, we necessarily must wander widely from that which we should properly pursue. If we err in submitting to such an influence upon subjects of ordinary interest common to us both, how much more must we do so, when acting upon such as belong more intimately to us. If we draw our notions of the value of our history, or indeed of any thing belonging to us, from the manner in which such matters are commonly treated in England, those notions will certainly be false and injurious to ourselves. The fact is, that the whole subject of North America carries with it an uncommonly disagreeable association of ideas to British minds. Whenever this particular topic suggests itself, it seems to be the signal for the decline of liberality, the rise of prejudice, and sometimes, though not so much latterly, even of ignorance.

Under all these circumstances, we cannot feel surprised, that a book like this has been neglected. In England the subject is not now, nor was it ever, popular. The matter contains testimony the more valuable to us, as it is so rare, to the character of a class of persons never properly esteemed there. Besides, it corrects much of the erroneous and unjust matter which has heretofore issued from the British press. With an apparent desire to be above prejudice, with industry equal to a thorough investigation of facts, and with a spirit able to appreciate the value of his subject, Mr. Grahame has published what we conceive to be the best book that has any where appeared, upon the early history of the United States. He has corrected, with a proper boldness, the mistakes, whether of ignorance or malignity, which his predecessors in the same labors had committed.

Of these, Dr. Robertson is here entitled to particular notice. The popularity of his style, and *apparent* candor of his mind, render all his works extremely interesting to the mass of readers, who seek for amusement and instruction without fatigue. The ninth and tenth books of the History of America, the only ones which refer to these States, were not published during his life, and have since appeared only as a carefully composed fragment. At the time when he was writing them, the disturbances between the mother country and her colonies had brought matters to a crisis; the countries had plunged into the war which terminated

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in their separation, and with this event, the Doctor seems to have lost his taste for the employment, and the disposition to perfect it. In other words, the subject was no longer popular in England. In a letter to Strahan, written about that time, he declares that he thinks it lucky his History was not finished before these events occurred, because the result would have been destructive to many plausible theories, he should have felt entitled to form.* That these theories proceeded from feelings somewhat involved in the success of his own country, seems likely, from the tone of a subsequent letter to the same individual. If so, it is not at all probable, that an examination of our early records would have tended much to sooth his irritation. But whether so or not, we cannot regret that he never finished his undertaking. We do not believe that Dr. Robertson was qualified for the task. The same character and cherished opinions which led him to justify Mary of Scotland, led him to undervalue the whole class of her opponents, the Puritans. He was, moreover, studious of the popular taste, and not over thorough in his researches after facts. We often meet with superficial observations and unwarranted conclusions, though these defects are so nicely shaded by the general philanthropy and elegant smoothness of his pages, as to elude ordinary observation. The modern fashion of what is called philosophical history is attended with one great disadvantage, in the ease with which it admits of the perversion of facts, to suit the prejudices of each particular writer. From such prejudices, Dr. Robertson was by no means free. They made him slow to appreciate the virtues, and quick to detect the foibles of our fathers, and occasionally to overlook altogether many circumstances, very important to an accurate conception of their character.

To illustrate this, we might turn to almost any page of the tenth book. But not to multiply citations, we shall select, for its importance, that in which he treats of the motives of the founders of Plymouth, in leaving Holland to come to these Western shores—motives, a correct idea of which, as all readers must admit, lies at the very bottom of a just opinion of the men, and gives its tone to all their subsequent history.

'There,' (in Holland,) 'these Puritans resided for several years unmolested and obscure. But many of their aged members dying,

* Dugald Stewart's Life of Dr. Robertson, prefixed to the History of Scotland.

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and some of the younger marrying into Dutch families, while their church received no increase, either by recruits from England or by proselytes gained in this country, *they began to be afraid that all their high attainments in spiritual knowledge would be lost*, and that perfect fabric of policy which they had erected, would be dissolved and consigned to oblivion, if they remained longer in a strange land.

'*Deeply affected with the prospect of an event, which to them appeared fatal to the interests of truth*, they thought themselves called, in order to prevent it, to remove to some other place, where they might profess and propagate their opinions with greater success.' *Hist. of Amer.* vol. iv. p. 262.

Now it seems to us not a little strange, that, from a list of five good reasons assigned for their removal, Dr. Robertson has selected but one; and that, the one least likely to excite the sympathy of the reader, and has given to his version the additional point of a sneer. Of the others, not a syllable is said. They are all plainly but touchingly given in their own church records.* The singularity of a statement like the preceding induced us to examine the authority, which is as follows.

'In 1617, they began to think of removing to America. *They laid great stress upon their peculiar tenets, but this did not lessen their regard to morality. The manners of the Dutch were too licentious for them.* Their children left them, some became soldiers, and others sailors, in the Dutch service. In a few years, *their posterity would have been Dutch*, and their church extinct. They were at a loss whether to remove to Guiana or to Virginia; but the majority were in favor of the latter. The Dutch labored to persuade them to go to Hudson's river, and settle under their West India Company; but *they had not lost their affection for the English*, and chose to be under their government and protection.' *Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass.* vol. i. p. 11.

Mr. Grahame has explained the matter still better; but the facts appear clearly enough without further quotation. It seems, then, that attachment to their religious belief, regard for the moral condition of their children, and an affection still warm for the good institutions of their native country, combined to lead these Pilgrims to New England; motives, than which, in the whole circle of human feelings, none could be selected more reasonable, none more honorable to themselves. We may learn from specimens like these, that a historian cannot

* Hazard's State Papers, vol. i. p. 357; Morton's Mem. p. 19.

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be too much alive to the importance of giving, not the truth only, but the *whole* truth; not the truth with a veil, but the plain, naked truth.

But, however negligent or prejudiced Dr. Robertson may have been, we do not mean to charge him with wilful, malignant misinterpretation. He seems to have had no particular end in view. We fear that so much cannot be said for Mr. George Chalmers, who published his Annals of the Colonies somewhat earlier. This gentleman, driven from Maryland by the storm of the revolution, returned to his own country full of the feelings, which the cause of his departure might naturally be supposed to occasion, and which were far from likely to ensure for the labors he undertook, that impartiality by which such works should always be distinguished. The result did not disappoint the probability. His book is a labored and yet a lame apology for the royal cause, with a due proportion of abuse and illiberality towards America. On the other hand, it must be admitted, that his sources of original information were extensive, and that he used them industriously; so that his work is valuable to us, if considered with reference to the facts, and apart from his fallacious commentary. But *he* merits no mercy at the hands of Americans. We may smile when he tells us, 'that, among other deplorable ills, the American climate seems always to have begotten a propensity to disobedience;'* we may laugh at the enthusiasm, which should so far blind a man, that in the book which tells of the sufferings of the Pilgrims in exile for conscience' sake, he should introduce 'clemency as the *peculiar* characteristic of kings;'* but we can feel nothing less than the sternest indignation, when we reflect that he used the most authentic materials of our colonial history to serve the interests of a day. Such an act, if luckily it did not partially carry its own antidote, would be ruinous to every thing like justice. It is perverting the first principles of eternal truth to accomplish the purposes of party.

We have seized this occasion to notice these authors, because we consider most of the injurious impressions respecting our early history to be owing to them. The popular style of the former has brought his work into the hands of all readers, as the authentic materials supplied by the other have introduced him to all the writers in the community. Most of the subsequent authors appear to have implicitly followed their track.

* Chalmers' Pol. Ann. p. 18. 191.

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Mr. Grahame, however, has judiciously adopted a different course, and, by searching for himself, has probed the weak places of all preceding writers. We do not mean to say, that he has invariably avoided error; but that he has coped very successfully with the disadvantages of his situation. His mistakes occur, in allusions to habits and customs which he cannot know. They are such as might be expected from every stranger not acquainted with us by personal observation, who, the moment he leaves his books, loses his only undeviating guides. But this defect is trifling, when compared with the happy discrimination which he has manifested in the selection of the leading principles that led to the colonization of the several States, and with the able exposition of the results that followed. On the whole, we strongly recommend this work to every American, to be read, reflected on, and compared with others. We perceive by the Preface, that the author promises two more works which are to comprehend the rest of our history, and sincerely hope that they may prove equally good, and thus furnish us with what is much needed, a connected and philosophical sketch, which shall be at once entertaining, instructive, and correct.

It is of course impossible for us to notice particularly, on the present occasion, all the subjects that are treated in the work before us. The Catholic settlement of Maryland, the history of William Penn, and the experiment of government on the philosophical principles of Locke in Carolina, deserve the deepest attention from the student of History, as well on account of the striking peculiarities belonging to each, as of the contrast they present to one another. North America seems to have been the stage for experiments in all kinds of popular government, and if that which we now enjoy have any eminent advantages, it is fair and rational to conclude, that it is the result of reflection and various experience, of wisdom refined by time and trial. We must, however, reserve what we have to say upon these subjects to some opportunity which our author may hereafter present, and proceed now to treat of a single portion, which, as well for the large share it has in the volumes before us as for the superior interest it creates *here*, appears to merit a more particular consideration. Besides, the lapse of the second century since the settlement of Massachusetts, seems to present a seasonable opportunity to look back calmly, and weigh the causes which gave rise to it, the principles

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which afterwards sustained it, and the influence it is exerting at the present day. From reflections which views of this kind may create, great practical good may come. They will lead us more fully to appreciate the qualities, which carried our ancestors through seasons of infinite suffering. They will teach us, that we owe to them every thing we now regard as best worth possessing; and by impressing this fact more stedfastly upon our minds, they may induce us to adhere firmly to those principles, which, as they sustained them, will also sustain us, under every trial, and throughout all time. Lastly, they may conduct us to the knowledge of the only true sources of all national prosperity, which it is essential to understand, or our system must certainly fall.

We have seen how unceremoniously Dr. Robertson despatches the motives, which brought the first Colony to Plymouth; and we then took the liberty to suggest the importance of a true notion of them to an understanding of all our subsequent history. Without it, we are blind to the chain of moral effects which has since been so fully carried out. In a brief sketch, it is impossible to dwell minutely upon the circumstances in which this may be fully traced. We must confine ourselves to leading suggestions, and where description would be likely to fail in giving a clear idea, resort must be had to the power of contrast. Thus, by comparing the infancy of the contemporary Colony of Virginia with that of Massachusetts and New-England, we may get more fully to realize the very remarkable points peculiar to the latter. We attempt this with no invidious design towards Virginia. That Colony is selected only because it arose about the same time, and will stand as a fair example of all establishments formed upon similar principles.

Virginia was colonized under the patronage of a King—by a company in London—for purposes of *gain*. James played the part of legislator, and the first effort of his protecting care deprived all the settlers of their natural rights as Englishmen, by subjecting them to power, without any voice in its regulation. Under such auspices the Colony arose. As the intention of the company was to profit by trade and not to colonize, the persons sent looked more for the means of growing suddenly rich and returning, than for a permanent domicile on the western side of the ocean. With them came a few volunteers, the romantic adventurers common in that age, who sought, in the new country made famous by the Spaniards for adventure, a

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field for short and wild enterprise, rather than the slow but certain result of patient worldly management. This stock was occasionally supplied by numbers, whose value may be easily estimated when we say, that they were gentlemen, refiners, goldsmiths and jewellers, attracted thither in quest of dross, which they were ever eagerly seeking, when they should have been thinking of the means of subsistence. The spirit which grew out of this was of course essentially selfish, and as the individuals of this society had come, united by no common ties, and immediately scattered without government, the natural consequences, anarchy and confusion, ensued. At a most critical moment, the existence of the Colony was preserved by the wisdom and energy of a single individual, whose natural ascendency over his companions supplied the bonds requisite to keep them together. Captain Smith is a hero of romance, but with more common sense than these personages are usually gifted with. He is fairly entitled to the name of the Founder of Virginia. An accident forced him to return to England, where the company manifested their sense of his services by total neglect; and thus held out very fitting encouragement for laudable exertion. The truth is, that they did not intend to colonize; they wanted agents to trade; and, provided this was managed to advantage, they were little solicitous of the prosperity of the people. No sooner had Smith departed than the settlement declined. Its destruction by the hands of the Indians was avoided only by resorting to the rigor of martial law. Severity saved what unrestrained liberty was fast destroying. Then came the military government of Dale, the violent death of the London Corporation, the grinding tyranny of Hussey, their royal Governor. They had no season of repose or prosperity until the paternal government of Sir William Berkeley came to their relief—a man who, by his personal popularity, secured a higher degree of favor from the planters to his master, than the tenor of his administration would have otherwise deserved. The people had few rights, their spirit was loyalist, and their character may be understood when their best Governor is found, like a true Cavalier, 'to thank God, there are no schools nor printing.' Whether a spirit of rational liberty prompted the movement of Bacon in his rebellion, or more selfish motives, he died too early for us to decide unequivocally; the probability inclines, however, to the latter opinion. On the whole, it seems tolerably clear, that the knowledge of true freedom came late,

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and grew slowly. It found its nourishment among the planters, from tyranny and oppression, which checked their prosperity and insulted their patience. How this knowledge, gathered in bitterness and long suffering, finally burst forth in a blaze, enlightening every hill and valley of the continent, we all know; but we find in the earlier days little cause to ascribe its rise to any principle existing in the primary formation of the State.

New-England, on the other hand, was planted by a colony composed of the middling classes in the mother country, opposed to the power of the crown—for the sake of *religious principle*, though the love of rational freedom was always combined with it. The very first act of the settlers of Plymouth was a written agreement, signed by every person, to form a civil society—a close approximation to the theory of the social compact. The transfer of the Charter to Massachusetts, virtually the same thing on their part, we shall speak of hereafter. Both measures manifest most clearly the sense which the members had of the obligations imposed upon them. They also show the principles of independence which they held from the first, and upon which their subsequent government was framed. Let it be recollected, then, that the duties were *self-imposed*, and, so far as we can judge, obeyed, without the agency of any extraordinary individual influence. In a desert, every man is entitled to a share of credit for wisely submitting himself to government where temptations always exist to swerve. We shall see that the first Church made it one of their fundamental points to obey the rulers set over them, so as to encourage them in the performance of their duty; a valuable though rather unusual branch of Church discipline. On such a foundation was the superstructure laid, and so happily did it rise, that its beautiful proportions were gradually developed without confusion, and with little adversity to record. The principle of government was popular, in its widest reasonable extent. The settlers belonged to a class of Christians, to whom the world stands indebted for the preservation of all the principles of liberty, which are now so flourishing. According to the testimony of a historian, never too favorable to their habits or character, theirs is the credit of preserving the freedom of the British Constitution. That freedom might have been crushed beyond revival by the power of the Stuarts, had not the love of it been combined in the hearts of these men with a still more exalted feeling, an attachment to religion, which led them to endure and to contemn every ill

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that was of this world. Driven to resistance, the Puritans discovered their power, and used it with effect. The old system fell before them. The experiment of a simple government was made, but too many obstacles existed to authorize the least hope of success. The angry passions had rioted too long. But the fixed habits of the nation, the distinct orders, keeping up great inequalities in society and wealth, the active party of the exiled royal family, and above all, the ambition of their own leaders corrupted by good fortune, were the principal obstacles to a fair trial. The plan failed—a reaction ensued, which brought back in triumph Charles and his House. The age of licentiousness succeeded, but the spirit which had once come to the knowledge of its own strength, could not be subdued—though foiled, perhaps forever, in its original purpose, it yet lived to form what is at this day the main support and glory of the British people—the Constitution of 1688.

Far different were the circumstances of that portion of the sect, who brought the same principles with them to America—and far different with them was the issue. They were free from the shackles, which tied down their brethren at home; they had no time-hallowed institutions to contend with; the ground was not encumbered with ruins dangerous to build upon, yet difficult to remove; they had it free and open before them to mark it to their taste. They did mark it with an eye of practical wisdom, which was not exhibited by a philosopher of far higher pretensions, John Locke, in a similar undertaking. His plan vanished at the rude touch of common life like a dream; theirs stands the test of centuries, for the institutions they founded are well known as that system, under which, with little variation, their posterity have ever since existed.

We have thus endeavored to illustrate the peculiarity, which governed the settlement of New-England, by contrasting it with that of a Colony founded for mere commercial purposes; but we cannot here resist the temptation to leave the thread of our subject, in order to remark upon a feature of the Puritan character, which has been to their enemies and those of New-England, a favorite and fertile source of reproach. We have been told of the intolerance of the early settlers—and forthwith has issued a series of sweeping reflections from such as seek in the common-places of morals for a cover to malignity or a display of depth. We are not disposed at this time, or ever, to be the advocates of intolerance. We grant that it

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is generally a mistake, as well as a crime. We will go so far as to admit, that our fathers were over-inclined to it—but if we see undue advantage taken of general admissions like these, to point a malicious moral, or to affix a stigma where none is deserved,—if we see our own writers copy without qualification, a charge so ungenerously made,—we feel disposed to retract our frankness, and be wise enough to leave to the attacking party the whole burden of proof, while we hold ourselves ready to put in a denial, or a justification. In truth, we apprehend that this charge has been much misunderstood, and in order to set it upon its true foundation, we propose briefly to review the leading facts.

The settlers had withdrawn from a land of plenty to a wilderness; and had certainly earned by their suffering, whatever rights they intended to secure by their flight. That, which was most prized, consisted in the liberty to form such a system of government for themselves as they approved. They were a weak minority, and therefore still liable to restraint from the mother country. They began this government with a view to obtain a home for their principles, where such as held them might hope for permanent shelter and security. Aware of danger, they labored to secure themselves, by taking every precaution to repel it. It was their anxious desire to live alone. A single and a chosen sect, in a spot which they had sacrificed every thing to reach, and where they molested none, they desired also to be free from molestation. They sought for none of different sentiments—why should such come among them? They had taken infinite pains to build up a system valuable to them, as well from the hardships they had undergone to attain it, as from their conviction of its intrinsic excellence. Can we in conscience call it either unnatural or unreasonable, that they should wish to uphold it, or feel jealousy of any act, having the least tendency to affect its stability?

The government they did establish, was a curious union of Church and State. It was framed avowedly upon the Scriptures, and instead of the more common arrangement, the civil was made in a degree subordinate to the ecclesiastical law. Mr. Cotton, in his letter to Lord Say and Seal, strongly justifies this course, which he thus explains: 'It is better that the Commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth God's house, which is his Church, than to accommodate the Church-frame to the civil state.' Such doctrine has passed away from among us.

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Experience has proved the beneficial effects of a total separation. But in 1636, when this letter was dated, it had not. Where were our fathers to learn the practicability of a separation, even had they wished to adopt it? Were they to look for an example to the mother country, the one best known to them, and from which they had felt obliged to fly? Certainly not. Yet thence has come most of the reproach on this subject, although even at this advanced period, it wears in that quarter a particularly ill grace.

We maintain that the settlers, interfering with no one, and coming here for the purpose, had a clear *right* to establish such a government as they wished; and that having established it, they were fully justified in taking all lawful means to make it durable. It is no great matter whether the principles they worked upon were all abstractly right or not. It is sufficient, if they were fully understood and practically used to a good purpose. For instance, we have already stated, that the maxims of civil and church law were so interwoven in the frame, and so equally necessary to the support of the system, that in that early hour, all attacks upon the latter were in effect attacks upon all the civil institutions, and endangered the permanency of the whole fabric. Now this union may in the outset have been abstractly wrong; yet when once established, the only course was to preserve it against violence; for the risk of injury from change at that moment, would have been greater than the probable amount of good to be gained from recognising the true principle. Moreover, it must ever be remembered, that the system was particularly exposed to attack from within as well as from without. The age was turbulent. The foundations of the old systems of society had been every where shaken by the reformation; among these settlers in a new country they had been entirely destroyed. Religious enthusiasts themselves, they were exposed to the extravagance of all, who losing sight of common sense, sought in the visions of their own heated imaginations for schemes, which might dazzle for a time, but would certainly end in general ruin. It is wonderful how closely our ancestors noted this. Their design was to build up—and aware how little it would take at first to put every thing into irretrievable confusion, they held a strong curb over the unruly members of their society. This was clearly the dictate of prudence and common sense; and to this care they doubtless owed their preservation. This striking and justifiable motive may be seen in all the acts most frequently cited against them.

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The first step, taken by the settlers under the Massachusetts Charter, was to form a Church. It seems a circumstance worthy of remark, and not unfavorable to our reasoning, that among so large a number, many of whom had never before seen each other, and notwithstanding the differences in speculative points, which certainly did exist among the Dissenters, the system adopted should have met with the assent of all but two persons; a fact which can only be accounted for, by supposing a willing compromise of minor matters to secure the great end, their general safety. But the two who disagreed were members of the Council, and leading men. Not content with mere difference of opinion, they set up a separate society, which began to draw off some, and they openly encouraged a division, likely at that moment to have been fatal to the Colony. In reading the account of these Browns, in noticing the unfriendly character of all their operations, one can scarce avoid the idea, that they came as wolves in sheep's clothing, that their end was not what it seemed,—at all events, the worst enemies of the settlements would not have proceeded more effectually—but their operations were quickly checked. They were called before the Governor, and it being proved that their conduct '*tended** to *sedition*,' they were quietly sent back to England. No measures were taken against their followers, who remained wholly unmolested. This mild proceeding would seem to need little justification, yet it is the first great case of intolerance.

We almost fear to approach the character of Roger Williams, so warmly have his admirers urged his claims to excellence; yet, we hardly presume that any one, upon reflection, could be found to approve his course at Salem. His religious opinions were wild, beyond even the tone of the age, and he supported them in a manner so violent, that it could scarcely fail of being offensive to the community. His seems to have been a character, not very uncommon in the world; jealous of authority, and irritated by opposition. He became violent and restless, acting with a spirit likely to produce nothing but discord and violence. It was in vain, that Cotton and Hooker, the mildest of the clergy, were sent to expostulate with him, and explain the consequences of his course; their reasoning only furnished fuel to his opposition. In this state of things, the Government,

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 19.

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deeming his conduct dangerous to the best interests of the State, felt compelled to order him to leave it. Peace soon returned, and two communities flourished where one might have lingered in helpless confusion. Age mellowed the feelings of Williams, and no inducement to violence existed at Providence. He lived in amity with Massachusetts, from which he afterwards had himself occasion for aid; and he established in his own settlement the admirable maxim of toleration, which will preserve his memory long after his extravagance shall be forgotten. Such is the second instance of intolerance, in which we can see nothing but the dictate of a wise and even of a mild policy.

The most violent dissension which took place in Massachusetts was occasioned by a woman, who succeeded in splitting the colony into parties. The history of Mrs. Hutchinson most strongly exhibits the peculiar dangers to which the settlement was at that day exposed. Some, though perhaps not her immediate partisans, entertained opinions injurious both to morality and good government, and these were disseminated among the people with greater ease under the cover of her peculiar doctrines. The struggle, not confined to argument, assumed a more serious shape. Every nerve was exerted to operate upon the political body. An election manifested the good sense of the majority, in the choice of Winthrop; and, as Hutchinson correctly observes, 'prevented and turned the ruin from the country upon Mrs. Hutchinson and many of her family and friends. These were decided to have pursued a course tending* to disturb the civil peace, and were accordingly banished. Many of them, learning moderation in exile, desired to return, were received without difficulty, and subsequently became valuable members of the society, whose safety they had once endangered. This forms the third and the most noted instance.

Hitherto nothing appears to us to have occurred calculated to affect the character of the Puritans; unless one would quarrel with them for preserving, what they had a manifest right to preserve, the safety and success of their particular design in establishing the colony. We have tried to show that in all these cases, they had in their situation strong causes of justification, which may not apply to firmly established communities. After all, then, the persecution of the Quakers is the only thing which

* Hutchinson's Hist. p. 57, vol. i. Vol. ii. Appendix, No. 2. The Address of Winthrop to Mrs. H.

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can be considered as authorizing any severity of remark. Even here, much may be said in their defence. In addition to the general reasoning already urged, there were causes for it growing out of the characters of those people. Persons at the present day, when reading of Quakers, and thinking of the very respectable and unoffending sect who now bear the name, feel a strong and natural indignation at what would seem unmerited suffering. They do not reflect that the persons who infested the colony in those days were of a very different character. They were ranters; extremely ignorant, fanatical, and incessant disturbers of the public peace. Much of what is told by the elder historians, would even at this period draw them under the cognizance of a magistrate. The church rites of our strict ancestors were rudely broken in upon, their moral sense grossly shocked, and their civil authority openly contemned. Under all these provocations their patience at last gave way, and finding banishment and stripes totally unavailing, they, in a fit of exasperation, made the offence capital. The measure was not, however, in accordance with the unanimous feeling of the Colony. The law enforcing the penalty, after having been once rejected, subsequently passed by a majority of a single vote, and the public sympathy excited for the sufferers became so great, that it was continued only for the year.

We say nothing of the law retaining all civil rights in the hands of church members, because this principle appeared too clearly to result from the necessity of self-defence, to require argument, and because any thing we might have wished to say has been anticipated by the clear and convincing manner in which Mr. Quincy has lately treated that part of the subject.

But it may be said, that, admitting the Puritans to have been actuated by this attention to their own preservation, their course manifested only an unreasonable fear of danger, and a deficiency in judgment—that the true policy is, to leave errors to consume themselves, and not to furnish them with fuel by immediate opposition or restraint—that these are the natural humors of every political body, which must have their way, or a sudden check may throw them in upon its vital parts. We freely allow this to be excellent reasoning in ordinary cases, but the situation of the Puritans was not an ordinary one. They came here a minority still exposed to the attack of the majority on the other side of the water. The power of the British Government was always leaning against them, the agents of Episcopacy were

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among them, besides the members of milder sects, who were constantly operating to lead their people astray. We are aware that the examples of Roger Williams, William Penn, and Lord Baltimore, will be urged against us; but we think that these instances serve only to prove our position. It is very certain, that they adopted the correct doctrine to its fullest extent; but so unprepared for it was the age, that Williams was compelled to call upon Massachusetts to apprehend Gorton, after flogging and banishing him to no purpose; that George Keith was tried, found guilty, and fined in Pennsylvania for 'creating a schism;' and, most of all, that the Catholics were actually deprived of their religious liberty by the very individuals, to whom they in the days of their power had accorded indulgence. In other words, the very thing actually happened in Maryland, which the Puritans seem to some so unreasonably to have apprehended in Massachusetts.

Thus much has been said upon this most objectionable feature in the Puritan character, which is, however, somewhat less so than it has been commonly considered. In conclusion, we will only repeat our own conviction, that their great fault consisted in engrafting the civil upon the ecclesiastical power, and thus making the latter a necessary basis of the State; but the idea of the close union between them was a prevailing error, not of theirs, but of the age. Having once assumed this ground, they did not incur blame by using all proper means to defend it from attack; and, finally, they were not unreasonable in their apprehension of danger. Thus far, and no farther, do we admit the faults of the founders of New-England. Their enemies may make the most of it. Perhaps they were not faultless, but theirs was a lucky fate. The evil of their day died with them, the good will remain forever. Singularly happy that community, in which a difficulty of this kind has, without any violent revolution, cured itself so effectually as to leave no trace behind! General moral reflections may answer very well for such observers as praise or condemn by the mass, but he who looks closely into the nature of man, will find much to attribute to human imperfection, without carrying every doubtful case to the account of his worst passions.

We now leave this topic for the purpose of resuming the examination of the principles, which sustained the settlement, and the influence it has exerted upon the present time. It will thus be seen at a glance, that the unity in design was pre-

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served in the execution, and remains now in its results, the beautiful fabric of our existing institutions. Our limits warn us to be brief.

The legislation of the early Colony tended chiefly to three distinct objects.

1°. The first was the cultivation of piety and good morals. The settlers had hardly arrived in Massachusetts, before they set about the frame of their Church. After solemn deliberation, they entered into a formal covenant, 'that they would live in the fear of God, and walk in His ways, that they would cultivate watchfulness and tenderness in their mutual intercourse; in all cases of offence, bear and forbear, give and forgive; in their intercourse with mankind, study a conversation remote from the very appearance of evil; by obeying dutifully all who should be set over them, encourage them to perform their duty; and, by shunning idleness, approve themselves in their particular callings, the servants of God.' Such, it should be ever remembered, was the tenor of the voluntary bond of a people!

The laws which were framed, bore accordingly more the impress of a system of moral duties, than of the mere negative rules of ordinary civil societies; and though this has subjected them to many sneers, we cannot help respecting the exalted nature of the feelings, which prompted the course, however impracticable it may be in its application to men. These laws, not content with punishing grosser offences, were directed against many vices usually considered beyond the reach of the civil arm. Dancing in ordinaries, dressing beyond the degree of one's fortune, intemperance, idleness, lying and swearing, were all punishable offences. The penalties were graduated by the enormity of the *moral* crime. This may be illustrated by the law of Plymouth, punishing adultery and blasphemy by death, while forgery incurred only a fine; and by the general rule established in Massachusetts, that 'when the customs of the Commonwealth were found defective, the crime shall be decided by the word of God.'

Experience has proved, that it is not possible to extend civil authority over offences purely against good morals; it must be restricted to injuries done to society. Man is too fallible to admit a rule more rigid. But we cannot condemn, or rather, we ought to admire the noble spirit of those individuals, which induced the attempt to raise the character of their

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people to a standard of such extraordinary purity. Even the aim was not without its practical benefit. In all human exertion, nothing is lost by raising the standard to be arrived at. The higher that of moral excellence is in a community, the higher will be its general tone of language and feeling, though the whole end may not be attained. Moreover, the influence of this attempt has been good in another view. Though the law ceased to be executed, yet most of the offences continued to retain the stigma affixed to them, in the minds of the people. No doubt they were, are, and will be committed to some extent, here as every where else; but a great deal is gained to morality, if the prevailing sentiment be such as to make indulgence in such vices a never failing cause of degradation in the public esteem, if it be such as to hold out encouragement to the practice of the opposite virtues, such as to throw the whole mass of coarser faults into the most degraded and outcast class of beings, where vice has no splendor to gild its deformity, nor cloak to cover its nakedness.

2°. The second object was the dissemination of knowledge. One of the early laws enjoined upon all parents, to instruct and catechise their children and servants; and the Selectmen of each town were directed to remove the latter from their authority, and commit the charge of them to fitter hands, if they were found deficient. This is a rule in itself excellent, but, from the nature of things, difficult to be enforced. We find the neglect of it repeatedly noticed in the early times, as a lamentable thing, likely to bring down the judgment of heaven. Soon after the Colony arrived,* and at a time when they might still be supposed to entertain no ideas but those of immediate preservation, this portion of a sect of Christians, who have collectively been charged with hostility to all learning, voted, in full meeting, a sum of four hundred pounds, to establish a school at Newtown. This foundation having been enlarged two years afterwards, by a devise of eight hundred

*Mr. Grahame has fallen into an error here, by copying Mather's Magnalia, which assigns 1630, the very year of their arrival, as the date of this proceeding; and Mr. Neale has fallen into the same mistake. The latter goes so far as to name the day in that year, the sixth of September. But besides the obvious improbability of so early a period, and the authority of Hubbard, any doubt upon it has been put at rest by the research of Mr. Savage, the indefatigable Editor of Winthrop's Journal, Vol. ii. p. 87. Note. The true date is 1636.

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pounds from a private individual, grew into a College, perpetuating its benefactor's reputation by assuming the name of Harvard. The establishment continued to experience the protection of the Government, and, in 1642 and 1650, was remodelled, with increased privileges. Indeed, throughout the early annals, striking facts occur, to show that this institution was a great favorite with the people.

But a single College, however patronized, would have done little to spread among the mass of the common population the principles of knowledge. It is instruction in simple and elementary matters, carried to the home of each individual, which alone can make a whole nation advance in intelligence. The plan best adapted to bring about this end, is entitled to much more attention than all the high sounding theories ever started. It would be hazarding little to say, that the system established by our fathers does very completely answer the purpose. That system was instituted by the law, obliging every town with fifty householders, to provide a school-master qualified to teach reading and writing. If it had one hundred, it was then bound to maintain a grammar school. The practical success of this regulation may be seen in the fact, that there are few natives of New-England, who have not received the rudiments of education; none who have not enjoyed the opportunity. It is a singular, but not unapt reflection of Mr. Webster, in his valuable Plymouth Address, that in the efforts for the dissemination of the means of instruction, made by Mr. Brougham in England, and by which he has gained so much reputation, we see no principles with which we are not familiar from early life, and which have not been established ever since the infancy of this people.

3°. The third and last great object was the security of individual liberty. This may be seen in the first act of the settlers; it may be traced with unerring certainty in all their subsequent proceedings. They would not come at all, unless the Charter which governed them came also; a decision which has shocked the feelings of British historians most grievously, but upon which the young American cannot ponder too deeply; for it is the corner stone of our liberty. Mr. Chalmers tells the truth, because he thinks it a matter of reproach, but we hope it will be long before any one here will be ashamed of it. Having established themselves on the most secure footing they could gain in America, they formed a

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Government of a very primitive kind—every freeman having a voice in public affairs. When the number had increased and extended so widely over the country as no longer to admit of this arrangement, the principle of representation arose like a regular consequence of a digested scheme. The first meeting of Delegates pursued the same course, by laying down the fundamental rules, that no law should be passed, no tax imposed, and no officer appointed or removed in the Colony, without their consent. These were accompanied by others, exhibiting a jealousy of encroachment upon their rights, by the Governor and Council, which shows how clearly they understood them. The system was further improved, a few years afterwards, by the division of the legislative power into two branches, the one composed of the Governor and Assistants, the other the popular branch; and finally, by that confederacy between Massachusetts, New-Haven, Connecticut and Plymouth, in whose regulations may clearly be seen the germ of our present national system. Yet, with all these improvements, the primitive habits were still closely adhered to in the towns; and the people have invariably manifested aversion to change. All matters of interest are thus submitted to the popular will in town meeting, and abide by the decision of the majority. Such was the system established in former days, and such it is now;—a system which gives to each member of society his proper importance, and secures a hardy independence of character in the yeomanry, very different from the sickly servility, and fawning adulation, paid to the upper classes by the peasantry of older countries.

We have thus very imperfectly attempted to explain the great principles of the Puritans by their measures. We omit an examination of less essential points, not because they want interest, but from the nature of our plan, which excluded secondary matters. Yet the simple course of public justice would alone afford a subject for curious and instructive reflection. No professional man can help being struck with the difference between our system and that of England, whenever he examines a book of British law. Our practice with regard to real actions, conveyancing, and pleading, is the light of day, compared with the obscurity existing in the mother country,—not to speak of the organization of our Courts, and the whole criminal code. But to general readers, this is a matter of inferior interest.

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It has been our endeavor to explain the motives which brought the Pilgrims here, and the principles which built up their society. We have seen unity in design, and unity in execution. The motives which brought them have been shown to be,—1. Attachment to religious belief; 2. Regard for the character of their children; 3. Love of the good institutions of their native country. The principles acted upon have been shown to be the clear consequences of these. 1. The cultivation of piety and good morals; 2. The dissemination of knowledge; 3. The security of individual liberty. And now, we boldly challenge the world, to produce any instance where these ideas have been more perfectly conceived, and fully executed. It may be true, that more was attempted than could be performed. This is surely not a fault, as some superficial persons have believed;—if a defect, it lies at the root of all the failures of man, his nature—which will not carry him beyond a certain point. What was actually effected, may be seen in the present privileges of the people, in their moral, industrious and frugal habits, in the degree of their intelligence, and above all, in their sturdy, but not overbearing independence. This is the influence which the character of the Puritan settlers has exerted upon the present generation; these are the benefits which their posterity derive from them.

But if we wish them to be permanent, it is not enough to look to the past; we must consider the future, and apply the lesson we have thus been taught. We should all recollect the old and excellent motto, that 'it is not with us as with other men, whom *small things* can discourage.'* It is incumbent upon each person to consider, that he exerts a direct influence upon the State; and that it is only by acting on the principles which lie at the bottom of the system, adhering to piety and good morals, extending the desire for instruction, and maintaining personal independence, which can grow only out of individual industry, temperance and frugality, that he can hope to see it endure. By pondering upon these things, and turning them to account in his daily practice, he will benefit himself, and through himself the whole country.

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*Hazard's St. P. Vol. I. p. 363.

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ART. VIII.—*Mémoires Inédits de Madame la Comtesse de Genlis sur le dixhuitième siècle et la Révolution Françoise, depuis* 1756, *jusqu' à nos jours.* 10 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1825.

Before proceeding to examine this work, we wish to say a few words upon the department of literature to which it belongs; and in which the French language is far richer than that of any other nation. It is pleasant enough to step occasionally behind the curtain, and to see the operation of the moving forces, by which the great enginery of the world is kept in action; and we are enabled to do this, in a considerable degree, by the record of their own lives and characters, which men of political and literary eminence have sometimes bequeathed to us. In this way, the dark passages of history are illustrated, and valuable materials provided for those whose vocation it may be to write it hereafter; the state of society and manners at particular periods is more clearly revealed to us; and, what though less important, is certainly not less interesting, portraits of the wise and eminent are drawn, not as history paints them, in their robes of state, but in the careless and familiar garb of ordinary life. It is almost superfluous to say, how much more exact and satisfactory would be our knowledge of the state of society and manners in former times, if the business of writing memoirs had been fashionable at an early period; or how much light would have been shed upon various portions of English history, if the actors in its eventful scenes had less frequently left to others the task of recording their most remarkable achievements. We are aware, that many of the great Generals of England have been thought to resemble Cæsar more in a military, than in a literary point of view; but the real cause of this deficiency, is probably to be traced more directly to the fact, that this species of literature does not seem to be in all respects adapted to English taste. The French, on the contrary, have excelled in it, in consequence of some peculiar traits of character. Their memoirs are written with all the ease and freedom of conversation; while in England, not only no man speaks of himself, but can hardly be brought to speak of another, without resorting to all the grave dignity of historical narration. This propensity is particularly obvious in English biography, which is too often

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deficient in what should constitute its principal attraction, familiar details of a personal and private nature. The life of Pitt, for example, is a solemn history of the age; and there are many other works, to which a similar objection may be made, but to which we need not here refer. It is not improbable, that some have been prevented from writing their own memoirs, by an apprehension of being liable to the charge of vanity. This was the ground, upon which the really interesting and valuable memoirs of Burnet were assailed by the merciless ridicule of Swift; nor was the accusation in that instance, wholly unfounded; but the example of Dr. Franklin may serve to show, that it is very possible for a man to write his own memoirs, without being considered unreasonably vain. A few years since, one of the distinguished officers of our revolution, in writing an account of his own adventures, thought it expedient to avoid too frequent a use of the first personal pronoun, and spoke of himself under the style of 'our General;' a descriptive phrase, which though better on the whole than that of 'our hero,' is far less eligible than the mode adopted by Cæsar and Napoleon. In the French writers, we find no such excessive delicacy. They remind us rather of one of their countrymen, who never spoke of himself, without taking off his hat. They are firmly persuaded, that whatever relates to themselves must be interesting, and seldom fail to render it so; and their literature has in consequence been enriched with a series of memoirs, many of which are interesting, and some of permanent and real value. It may be proper, however, to remark, that some deduction must not unfrequently be made from the credit accorded to most of them, owing to the prejudices of their writers, who have been sometimes tempted, if not wholly to pervert the truth, at least to invest it with a doubtful coloring.

The Memoirs of Madame de Genlis form no exception to the remarks, which we have just offered in regard to this class of works in general. Several of the first volumes are extremely interesting; but we are bound in candor to acknowledge, that some of the last present as melancholy specimens of prosing, as the imagination can easily conceive. The ninth consists principally of a collection of anecdotes, which seem to be inserted in it simply to refresh the memory, as very many of them are taken without the alteration of a word or letter, from the preceding volumes; while the tenth and last has been reserved as a receptacle for all the fragments, with which the

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world had not been previously favored. Although Madame de Genlis does not belong precisely to the first class of writers, she, nevertheless, filled for a long time a considerable space in the public eye; and her recent death, at a very advanced age, affords a fit occasion for a cursory notice of some of the leading incidents of her life, to which we shall add a few extracts from the volumes before us.

Madame de Genlis was born, January 21, 1746, at Champcéri, a small village of Burgundy; and on the very same day, the opening flower had nearly been unkindly crushed. The *Bailli* of the place called to offer his congratulations to her father upon the joyful occasion, and was proceeding to install his portly person in the chair, on which her infant ladyship was laid. Nothing but the sudden and vigorous interposition of the nurse could have averted the impending danger, and preserved more than a hundred volumes from being irretrievably blotted from the circle of French literature. If any doubt existed in regard to the early developement of her talent and beauty, her own emphatic testimony upon the subject has set the question at rest. At the age of seven, she was placed under the care of a governess of sixteen, who was at all events to instruct her in music, and in the next place to improve her mind by giving her lessons in Father Buffier's history; but the narrative of the learned father was soon laid aside, by joint agreement, for the more edifying instruction of Scuderi's romances, and the dramas of Mademoiselle Barbier. Before she was taught to write, she began to extemporise romantic stories; which, owing to her deficiency in that important requisite, are lost to the world. About the same time her mother composed a comic opera, in which the young lady was called upon to play the part of *Cupid*, and personated the character with so much success, and so entirely to her own satisfaction, that, notwithstanding the lapse of seventy years, she has given us a description of her dress in it, with all the professional accuracy of the *Petit Courier des Dames*. For some time she wore this dress habitually, but at last exchanged it for that which custom has appropriated to the other sex; to the use of which she attributes the perfection of her gait, and the ease and freedom of her manner. During a whole year, at a period of life somewhat later, she spent regularly seven hours in each day, very often eight or nine, and occasionally from ten to twelve, in playing upon the harp; her favorite instrument, and one, upon which she appears to have performed with unusual grace and skill.

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We have given these details, not with the design of casting ridicule or censure on Madame de Genlis, but in order to present some idea of what female education must have been among the higher classes in France for some years prior to the revolution. It appears to have been conducted according to the principle dogmatically asserted by one of Shakspeare's clowns, that beauty is the work of art, and that reading and writing come by nature. In fact, the condition and character of the nobility of France, when the storm at length swept over them, were not wholly unlike those of the ancient world, when it was overwhelmed by the deluge. The want of morality and virtue was poorly supplied by a gorgeous veil of exterior decorum; which, though it may have weakened in some respects the force of pernicious example, consecrated, instead of removing the evil of vice, by investing it with unnatural attractions. There was much of that dignified loyalty, that generous and lofty courtesy, that proud and chivalrous sense of honor, so splendidly portrayed by the inspired eloquence of Burke; but there was also a sad alloy of baser qualities, of open frivolity and ill-concealed vice, which checks the sympathy we naturally feel, when the exalted are brought down to the dust. Still so powerful was the influence of this society upon the imagination and the heart, that we see Madame de Genlis, amidst all her high, and doubtless sincere professions of religious zeal, stating, apparently without the least perception of their impropriety, circumstances to which a person of real delicacy would scarcely incline to allude; and we find her, also, at the period of her subsequent misfortunes, looking back to it with the same feeling, with which the exiled Hebrew remembered the Holy City, as he wandered in a strange land. It should be recollected, however, to her honor, that she had sufficient force of character to withstand and overcome that influence to such a degree, as to acquire and preserve a taste for literary pursuits, and an active industry, to which she owes all her reputation.

The beauty and talent of Madame de Genlis, together with her taste for music, which was developed in her earliest infancy, had procured for her a welcome reception in the most brilliant circles of Paris; and to these titles to success in society, was added that of a connexion with the family of Orleans. She was the niece of Madame de Montesson, who became the wife of the Duke of Orleans, by a marriage, which was denominated *secret*, because, though known to all the world, it was not

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acknowledged at court. The intercourse between the aunt and niece does not appear to have been remarkably cordial. Both had literary pretensions. Those of the former were not supported by much taste or talent; but she made ample amends for this deficiency by the strength of her passions, which were exhibited in the most consistent and relentless hatred of her younger rival; who was on her side not slow to requite the obligation by an exposition, more triumphant than charitable, of the system of tactics by which her aunt induced the Duke of Orleans to espouse her, in opposition to his judgment and inclinations. Indeed, this litigious propensity appears to have taken deep root in the family of our author. A bitter controversy was carried on for a long time between her mother and grandmother, which was terminated only by the death of the latter.

When Madame de Genlis was about fifteen, she received the offer of the heart and rent-roll of the Baron D'Andlau, a veteran spark of sixty, whose suit was supported by the interest of her mother; but as she testified some reluctance in accepting the proposal, her mother, in order to set in a strong light the folly of her conduct, married him herself. About this time one of her letters fell accidentally into the possession of the Count de Genlis; whose admiration of the talent displayed in it, was soon transferred to its fair writer, and who espoused her for her style, as the learned ladies in Moliere embraced the pedant of the play for the love of Greek. He was an officer of reputation, and of a noble family. The immediate effect of her marriage was to extend her circle of amusements among the relatives of her husband; and she has given a lively account of one, to which, so far as we are informed, the married ladies of this country are not much addicted. One evening at ten, she went with her brother into a little village adjoining Genlis, where they amused themselves with beating against the windows of the ale-houses, and calling for spirit; taking due care to effect a retreat before the publican could reply in person to his vexatious customers. This charming jest was several times repeated in the course of the evening, and always with complete success. 'Happy age,' she remarks, 'in which pleasure is so cheaply purchased, when nothing exalts the imagination, or disturbs the heart.' A more refined satisfaction, however, was at this time afforded her, by the opportunity which she enjoyed of becoming familiarly acquainted with distinguished literary

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men; but it may be proper here to remark, that her judgments in regard to most of them, are strongly affected by her prejudices. Like another French personage of some note, whenever she differs in opinion from others, or maintains a quarrel, she is invariably in the right. Her hostility to the philosophers was uniform and unrelenting; and though some have thought fit to ascribe it to the treatment which her works received from them, we see no reason why it should not be attributed, in part at least, to her natural aversion to their principles. Whatever may have been its cause, it was at all events too indiscriminate, and carried to an unreasonable extent. She had previously seen and disliked d'Alembert; and her prejudice was now ripened into utter aversion. She describes him as mean in his person, and disagreeable in manner; and by way of illustrating his kindness of heart, declares, that, with all the foreboding apprehensions of affection, he composed a funeral eulogy upon his intimate friend Madame Geoffrin, during her last illness, in order to have it in a state of preparation for the press at the very instant of her death. His attachment to Madame de Genlis, such as it was, was considerably impaired by an occurrence, which we think might reasonably justify the wrath of a philosopher. M. de Sauvigny, it seems, had regularly sent to her all the academic eulogies of d'Alembert. One day he presented her with one to which the name of the author was not attached, but with which she was so much gratified, that she despatched a note to d'Alembert, expressing her satisfaction in animated terms, and informing him, that she considered it by far the best of all his discourses. Unluckily the eulogy was the production of Condorcet; and d'Alembert, as may be supposed, was rather offended than otherwise by her compliment.

The following extract describes her interview with another distinguished personage. She had been apprised by one of her friends, of the intention of her husband to present to her the actor Preville, in the character of Rousseau; and shortly afterwards the philosopher himself was announced.

'Expecting, of course,' says Madame de Genlis, 'to see Preville only, it was with some difficulty that I promised to do my best to entertain J. J. Rousseau. I waited impatiently for his entrance, believing that nothing could be more truly comic than Crispin in the guise of a philosopher. My spirits were so extravagant, that M. de Genlis, knowing my natural timidity, was lost in astonishment. It was impossible for him to imagine how the expectation

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of receiving so grave a personage, should produce so strange an effect; and he thought me wholly beside myself, when he saw me laugh as Rousseau entered the room. Nothing could be more agreeable than his appearance, though, to me, it was a mere masquerade. His coat, his claret-colored stockings, his little round periwig, in short, his whole costume and manner, gave me the idea of a remarkably well-acted comic scene. With great effort, I preserved a sober countenance, and, after stammering a few complimentary phrases, sat down. Fortunately for me, the conversation took a lively turn. I said nothing, but laughed occasionally with so much heartiness, that Rousseau himself appeared disposed to share my mirth. He said many pleasant things upon the subject of youth in general. I thought Preville very intelligent, but it appeared to me, that Rousseau in his place, would have been offended with me. He then addressed himself to me; and being perfectly free from embarrassment, I uttered every thing that came uppermost in my mind. He thought me very original, while I, on the other hand, considered him the best actor I had ever seen. I was never pleased with caricatures; and what gratified me in this instance, was the nature and simplicity of the comedian, who appeared to me to be far greater than I had ever thought him on the stage; though he certainly made Rousseau by far too gay and good-humored. I played on the harp for him, and sung some of the airs of the *Devin du Village;* while Rousseau listened with the air of satisfaction, which the simplicity of childhood usually inspires. On taking leave, he promised to return and dine with us the next day. Nothing could have given me greater pleasure, and I accompanied him to the door, with all the pretty compliments imaginable. When he was fairly gone, I laid aside all restraint, and laughed outright; M. de Genlis all the while regarding me with a grave and uneasy expression, which by no means tended to diminish my mirth. "Now you are angry," said I, "because you did not succeed in deceiving me; but how could you think me simple enough to mistake Preville for Rousseau?" "Preville!" "Oh deny it, if you will; I am very easily convinced." "Are you insane?" "Preville, I acknowledge, is charming, and nobody could act better; but he played the part of a very agreeable old gentleman, and not of Rousseau, who would have been provoked by my reception of him." At these words, M. de Sauvigny and M. de Genlis laughed so immoderately, that I began to be surprised in my turn; and my confusion may be imagined when I ascertained, that it was Rousseau himself whom I had been entertaining in this agreeable way.'

The acquaintance, thus commenced, was soon interrupted. M. de Genlis offered Rousseau some Sillery wine, of which he

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consented to receive two bottles. M. de Genlis had the hardihood to send him two dozen; and the affront was so flagrant, that Rousseau never entirely forgave it. His friendship for Madame de Genlis, which lasted a few days longer, was at length broken off by an occurrence of about equal importance. One evening he agreed to accompany her to the theatre, on condition that the party should occupy a private box. When they had taken their places, Rousseau insisted on raising the blind to accommodate her, while she was equally desirous of closing it to gratify him. In the mean time, the attention of the audience was attracted towards him, and he accused her forthwith of making a spectacle of him, like a wild beast at a fair; while she on the other hand insisted, that he thrust his head forward repeatedly with the express purpose of being seen, and was offended because the recognition was not followed by applause. At any rate, he took his leave in transports of wrath; and Madame de Genlis, with no great reason, piques herself upon the steadiness with which she afterwards resisted his efforts to effect a reconciliation. Her whole account of this singular personage reminds the reader very strongly of that given by St. Pierre.

Shortly after her marriage, Madame de Genlis, at the desire of the family of Orleans, took up her residence at the *Palais Royal*. To this step, which she ever afterwards regarded as a fatal error, she often alludes as the cause of all her subsequent misfortunes. It was ambition, doubtless, which induced her to sacrifice the domestic tranquillity to which she imagined herself so strongly attached; though the prospect of a brilliant provision for her husband and children was not wholly without its influence. Her beauty and talent had made her known in the highest circles; and she could not readily consent to relinquish the hope of a more complete triumph in the midst of a dazzling and luxurious court. Experience had not yet taught her, that the bright sunshine has little power to calm the agitated waves; that human nature, in every situation, is still the same; and she appears to have been surprised to discover, that any dark and relentless passions could find entrance into such a paradise as this. She complains that cold and malicious looks were fixed upon her; that her actions were ridiculed and misconstrued. The truth undoubtedly was, that she set a high estimate upon her own pretensions, and soon found, that the claims of others interfered with hers. The descent was very di-

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rect and easy from jealousy to envy and all uncharitableness; and it is very obvious, that while Madame de Genlis was repining at the illiberality of the ladies by whom she was surrounded, she was herself possessed, perhaps unconsciously, by the same unfortunate spirit. The gentlemen vied with each other in offering her their homage; but all this availed her nothing, so long as she was the object of female aversion. Her spirits were broken, and her health impaired. During one of the journeys, which her physician directed her to take, she paid a visit to Voltaire at Ferney. We give a portion of her account of her dining at his residence.

'We took our seats at the table, but M. de Voltaire was far from being agreeable. He appeared to be in a constant passion with his servants; crying out to them with a tone of voice so loud and shrill, that I several times involuntarily started from my chair. I had been previously apprised of this habit, which is not very common elsewhere in the presence of strangers; but it was easy to perceive that it was a habit with him, as his servants gave no indications of surprise or alarm. After dinner, M. de Voltaire, knowing my fondness for music, called upon Madame Denis to play upon the harpsichord. Her style of performance reminded me of the age of Louis XIV; but it could not be numbered among the most agreeable associations with that delightful period. She had just completed a piece of Rameau, when a pretty little girl of seven or eight entered the room, and ran to embrace M. de Voltaire, calling him Papa. He returned her caresses with infinite grace; and seeing that I contemplated the scene with pleasure, told me, that the little girl was a great grand daughter of the great Corneille, on whose mother he had bestowed a marriage portion. How would this have affected me, if I had not called to mind those commentaries, in which injustice and envy are so awkwardly betrayed! In fact, I was every moment wounded by strange contrasts, and my admiration was constantly checked, and even destroyed, by odious recollections and revolting extravagance.

'After M. de Voltaire had received several visiters from Geneva, he proposed to us a drive in his carriage. The horses were brought, and he, his niece, Madame de St. Julien, and myself, took our seats in the *berline*. He carried us into the village, for the purpose of showing us the houses he had erected, and some benevolent institutions which he had founded. Here he appears far greater than in his writings; for the effects of an intelligent liberality are every where visible, and one finds it difficult to believe that the same hand which has recorded so much impiety, wickedness and falsehood, has done so much that is noble, judicious

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and useful. It was his custom to show this village to strangers, and to speak of it plainly, but without the slightest affectation—to explain every thing which he had accomplished, without any appearance of vanity. There is scarcely any other person of whom the same remark could be made. When we returned, the conversation upon what we had seen became very animated. At evening, I took my leave. M. de Voltaire urged me to remain to dine the next day; but I was anxious to return to Geneva.

'All the portraits and busts of Voltaire resemble him strongly; but no artist has done full justice to his eyes. I expected to find them brilliant and full of fire; and they were in fact the finest I had ever seen; but they had at the same time a softness of expression, which it is impossible to describe; the soul of *Zaïre* shone through them. This charming expression was entirely destroyed by his very malicious laugh and smile. He was quite infirm, and his gothic movements made him appear older than he really was; his voice was sepulchral, and the more strange in its tone, as, though by no means deaf, he had a habit of raising it to a very high pitch. When his conversation did not turn upon religion, or his personal enemies, it was simple and unpretending, and his talent did not fail to render it delightful. It appeared to me, however, that he could not endure to hear another express an opinion different from his own; the slightest contradiction made the tone of his voice very angry and piercing.'

We come now to a period in the life of Madame de Genlis, in which she presents herself in a more interesting point of view; in which she conducted herself with a disinterestedness and assiduity, which indicated a high sense of duty, and a devoted zeal in the discharge of it; and to which some recent events have imparted an interest, which it did not previously possess. At about the age of thirty, she yielded to the earnest request of the Duke of Chartres, better known afterwards as the Duke of Orleans, and during the revolution, by the name of *Egalité*, that she should retire from the world, and employ herself in the education of his children. His three sons, as well as a daughter, were confided to her care; and she assumed, in consequence, the rather unusual title of *gouverneur*. The eldest of her pupils, Louis Philip, was then Duke of Valois. At the death of his grandfather, which occurred shortly afterwards, he became Duke of Chartres, and after the execution of his father, Duke of Orleans; a title which he has very lately exchanged for that of King of the French. The second was the Duke of Montpensier, and the third, the Count of Beaujolais. The youngest bore the name of Mademoiselle

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d' Orleans, which she still retains. Madame de Genlis, as we have already remarked, devoted herself to the task of educating these children with untiring industry and zeal; and probably contributed, in no small degree, to form the character of the present King. It may be agreeable to our readers, to know the opinion which she appears to have entertained of him at an early age.

'This morning I received a touching letter from the Duke of Chartres, which I shall preserve as a precious memorial of him. The following passage is faithfully copied from it: "I will resign all amusements until I shall have completed my education, that is, until April, 1790, in order to devote my money to benevolent purposes. On the first day of every month, we will agree upon the objects, to which it may most advantageously be applied. I beg you to accept my most sacred honor as a pledge for this. I should prefer that my plan may be known to ourselves only; but you well know, that I do not now, nor ever shall, keep any thing secret from you."

'The character of the Duke of Chartres is greatly improved, particularly within the past year. He was naturally well disposed; and he has become intelligent and virtuous. He has nothing of the frivolity usually found in children of the same age; and he despises the airs, the dress, the jewels and ornaments, of which the young are commonly so fond. He has no attachment to money, is very disinterested, despises luxury, and his disposition is very noble; in short, like his brothers and sister, he has an excellent heart, which, with the aid of reflection, will become the source of every other valuable quality.'

The sole superintendence of the education of her pupils, together with the invention of gymnastic exercises, and new methods of instruction, gave hardly sufficient employment to the active industry of Madame de Genlis. In addition to this, she prepared for their amusement and benefit her *Théâtre d'Education*, *Adèle et Théodore*, and *Veillées du Château*, the last of which is familiarly known in this country by the name of Tales of the Castle. These were the first productions, by which she acquired reputation as an author. But the work which excited by far the most general interest, was one which she published at this time upon the subject of religion, considered as the basis of happiness and true philosophy. The sensation created by its appearance was very great. It was a subject of no small surprise to see 'any good' coming out of the *Palais Royal;* but when the first sentiment of astonish-

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ment was over, this ill-fated work appeared destined to animate all Paris to a general battle. It was denounced by the stern theologians as deficient in orthodoxy; the fashionable world, not usually the most competent judges in matters of this sort, agreed unanimously, that Madame de Genlis had mistaken her vocation; some went so far as to accuse her of an unpardonable violation of the principles of her own book, in having pillaged all that was valuable in it from another writer; and the philosophers, whom she regarded from this time forth as her bitter enemies, assailed her with a pitiless torrent of ridicule and slander. Some of her sex would have been a little startled by this commotion among the elements; but Madame de Genlis was not so easily daunted. To the fashionable world, and the theologians, she discreetly refrained from making any reply; but she henceforth made war upon the philosophers with a degree of vigor, which would have been praiseworthy in proportion to its fierceness, if she had not assigned charity rather too low a rank in the scale of her religious graces.

The revolution at length came on; and Madame de Genlis has been sometimes accused of having exulted in its progress; a charge against which she has labored very zealously to defend herself. Whether the accusation was well founded or otherwise, is a question of very little moment; but it is hardly credible that it could have been true to any considerable extent. Like many others, whose insight into political mysteries was far deeper than hers, she may have regarded its beginning as the dawning of a golden age, destined to realize the dreams of which sages had predicted and poets sung; and never thought of looking in the calm and clear sky for the ominous signs of that tremendous hurricane, which swept over the land with a fury and desolation unparalleled before in the history of man. Her delusion, if it existed, was but of short duration. It could hardly have continued, when her husband had perished upon the scaffold, and she was herself wandering in poverty and exile. Alarmed by the threatening aspect of the times, she went with the youngest of her pupils to England, which she had visited the year before, and where she had an opportunity of renewing her acquaintance with many illustrious persons, of whom it is sufficient to name Fox and Burke, to show, that her reputation had gone before her. But the Duke of Orleans, who had already attached himself to the Jacobin party, soon

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sent orders for the return of his daughter. They returned only to enter upon a new scene of peril. The horrible massacres of September, 1792, had just taken place. The daughter of the Duke of Orleans, by a recent decree, was included in the class of *emigrés*, not having returned at the time prescribed in the decree; and Madame de Genlis, to secure the safety of both, accompanied her to Tournay, in Belgium, at that time a neutral country. This city was occupied by the army of Dumouriez; but the approach of the Austrians induced the exiles to retire into Switzerland, where the influence of General Montesquieu at length procured them an asylum in the Convent of St. Claire; and Madame de Genlis was separated from her pupil, who left her in order to take refuge with her aunt, the Princess of Conti. For many years from this time, the history of the House of Orleans has all the interest of romance. That of the present King is too well known to require repetition; but we will for a moment advert to the fortunes and fate of his two brothers, with which it was, most honorably to himself, connected. They were imprisoned for a considerable time at Marseilles, and occasionally treated with great severity, as appears from a narrative of their sufferings since published by the Duke of Montpensier, the elder of the two. It was afterwards proposed by the Directory to release them, on condition that they, with their elder brother, should depart from Europe. The proposition was instantly accepted; and the Duke of Orleans took passage for Philadelphia, where he was soon afterwards joined by his brothers. They lived together for some time in this country, in a state of comparative obscurity; but learning subsequently that their mother was in Spain, they made several efforts to rejoin her there, without success. They then went to England, where the Duke of Montpensier died, in 1807, after a lingering illness, at the age of thirty-two. The health of the Count de Beaujolais was also declining, and he was carried by his brother to the milder climate of Malta, in the hope of obtaining relief; but the progress of his disease was so rapid, that he died a few days after his arrival. Their sister, in the mean time, had not been without her portion of misfortune. After many vicissitudes, she returned to France in 1815, where her character is said to fulfil all the promise of her infancy. Soon after their separation, Madame de Genlis quitted Switzerland, and went to Altona, where she remained several months. The King of

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Prussia, deeming her political principles much too liberal for his dominions, courteously drove her away from Berlin; while the Directory considered them by far too monarchical for the meridian of Paris. She then went to Hamburgh, where she remained until the accession of a less benighted monarch permitted her to fix her residence again at Berlin. It is certainly very honorable to her, that during the greater part of the period of her exile, she was enabled to rely for subsistence almost wholly on the productions of her inexhaustible pen. Her account of this portion of her life, although upon the whole somewhat tedious, is not destitute of interesting details. While residing at Hamburgh, she received a visit from Klopstock, of which she gives the following account.

'There are certain persons, who are entirely insupportable, when you first encounter them. Their object is not to become acquainted with you, but to give you an exalted impression of their own knowledge and abilities. I shall not soon forget my first interview with the famous author of the Messiah, which took place while I was residing at Hamburgh, in the house of a clergyman, M. Volters. He had requested permission to visit me, and came while I was sitting with my niece. Seeing a little, hump-backed, ugly old man hobbling into the room, I rose and conducted him to an arm-chair, in which he seated himself without saying a word; he then crossed his legs, fixed himself comfortably in his chair, and assumed the air of one, who intends to maintain his post for a considerable time. At last, in a very shrill tone, he proposed this singular question; "Which, in your opinion, Madame, is the best prose-writer, Voltaire or Buffon?" This commencement of a thesis, rather than a conversation, almost petrified me; but Klopstock, who was much more anxious to explain his own opinion, than to ascertain mine, did not wait for a reply. "For my part," he resumed, "I give the preference to Voltaire, for several reasons; in the first place, because....." He then stated at least a dozen reasons, in a pretty long harangue; and proceeded to speak of his residence at Dresden, and in Denmark, of the attentions which had been paid to him, and of the translation which some emigrant had made of his Messiah. During his whole visit, which lasted about three hours, I did not utter six syllables; but he went away very well satisfied with my *conversation*, and remarked the same evening to a friend, that he found me very agreeable. My reputation was surely purchased at a very cheap rate.'

We feel tempted, also, to give an extract of a letter written

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by Talleyrand at Philadelphia, to Madame de Genlis. It is plain to us, that Mr. Moore must have borrowed his

'Oh! had we some bright little isle of our own,'

from the first part of it; while the latter part appears to illustrate the talent, which that single-hearted personage is reputed to possess in high perfection, of using the gift of speech to conceal his thoughts.

'Separated as I am from all those in whom my heart is interested, I am now engrossed by the idea of that which may enable me to return to them again, without reason to dread any future separation; which may enable me to live with them apart from the rest of the world, where, with a few friends, we may create a little world of our own, free from all the folly and evil that now besets our unhappy Europe. My disposition is unchanged; I am no more fond of violence or hatred, than in former times. My thoughts no longer dwell upon my enemies; I am laboring to repair my fortune, with all the assiduity which the purpose to which I intend to apply it can inspire; and in this occupation, my imagination finds a sentiment of pleasure as well as hope. If my efforts should be rewarded by success, I shall consider the years thus spent as the most useful of my life; I shall count myself among the small number of the fortunate.

'This is a country where honest men may prosper, but by no means so well as rogues, who have naturally many advantages. It was once my intention to write you upon the subject of America; but I soon discovered, that the attempt would be an absurd one. I reserve my observations for the conversations which I hope to have with you in long evenings to come. America is very like all other countries; there are some leading facts, the knowledge of which will enable you to understand it, as well as the cabinet of Copenhagen can do. You know what its form of government is; you know that it has vast tracts of land, where a freehold may be purchased at an infinitely lower price than in Europe. You know that the country is new, and destitute of capital, but abounding in enterprise; without manufactures, because the price of labor is, and will be for a long time very high. Combine these facts, and you have a better idea of America than most travellers; better even than M. de L., who sits by me making notes, asking for papers, and who is a thousand times more curious than the inquisitive traveller of Sterne.'

It has already been remarked, that the political conduct and sentiments of Madame de Genlis during the revolution, were severely criticised; and she found, or at least deemed it

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necessary to enter into a formal justification of them. Whatever they may have been, she did not hesitate to avail herself of the permission given her to return to France, after the tottering despotism of the Directory had been overthrown by Bonaparte. It was the ambition of that remarkable person, to withdraw the eyes of men from the iron rigor of his military power, by fixing them upon the dazzling brilliancy of a new Augustan age. He labored, therefore, to collect around him all those who had the discretion to devote themselves to scientific or literary pursuits, without entering the forbidden field of politics. There was, perhaps, some reason for excepting Madame de Staël from his act of general amnesty; for, as he correctly observed, her literature and her conversation were both political; and even her flattery wounded him, because it pointed to a moral greatness, to which he never permitted himself to aspire. She appears to have been honored by his cordial hatred, not unmingled with a sort of apprehension, which was exhibited in rather a singular way. We are assured, upon high authority, that the conqueror of Austerlitz and Jena, the arbiter of the fate of nations, published a most bitter *critique* in the *Moniteur*, upon Madame de Staël's *Corinne*. In Madame de Genlis, there was little of that perilous force of mind and character, which despotic authority has no small cause to fear. She had, moreover, the advantage of being in some degree connected with the old *régime;* the style and manners of which Bonaparte attempted to reproduce, as the old gilded coach of the Lord Mayor is paraded to adorn a city pageant. She was not unwilling to burn a little politic incense before him; and his gratitude furnished her with the substantial recompense of a lodging at the arsenal and a pension. It was his custom to require those about him to communicate to him, at stated periods, their opinions upon various subjects. The advantages of such a requisition are very obvious; as they provided him with the means of receiving information, which, if not always valuable, was probably sometimes of a description, which a less restricted press would have communicated in a more disagreeable way. It became the duty of Madame de Genlis to write every fifteen days upon the subjects of politics, finance, literature, morals, or such others, as she might select for herself. With laudable discretion, she avoided the subject of politics altogether; and confined her attention to that of literature and morals, particularly the last, with a zeal, which, if not always strictly according to knowledge, was at

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least so earnest, that, as she herself observes, if the Emperor failed to become devout, it was no fault of hers. We are inclined to fear, however, from a specimen of this correspondence which she has given us, that the information which she gave the Emperor was not always of a perfectly authentic character. She assured him, among other things, that the multiplication of sects in England had produced universal skepticism among the Protestants; and that the clergy of that faith in Holland and Germany were all of them Deists. But she had the unimpeachable testimony of Talleyrand for believing, that the Emperor found her letters very charming. Being thus placed entirely at her ease in a political point of view, Madame de Genlis had abundant leisure for a controversy, in which she became involved with the projectors of a work, entitled Universal Biography, to which she was invited to become a contributor. She consented on condition that the contributions of certain individuals, whom she regarded as infidels, should be excluded; but her demand was not complied with, and she published the articles which she had already written, in a separate volume. A fierce war of pamphlets followed; until Madame de Genlis, fatigued with a contest in which there was less honor in victory than disgrace in defeat, was fain to forsake the field.

Madame de Genlis appears to have exulted in the return of the Bourbons, without much reason, so far as her own interests were concerned; as she went only once to Court after their restoration, and as far as we are informed, was not regarded by them with unusual favor. It is said, however, that the family of Orleans were not unmindful of their early obligations. From this period, she lived in a state of comparative obscurity; but her passion for writing was hardly mitigated by the growing infirmities of age; and the memoirs before us are in some degree remarkable as the production of her eightieth year. We do not propose to enter upon a critical examination of this or any of her other works; few of which have ever acquired much popularity in this country, or will be extensively read hereafter. They belong in general to a class, the interest of which is apt to be fleeting, and which seldom attain to a high and permanent rank in the literature of any nation. Her talent as a writer was not very early developed; but the zeal with which she prosecuted the work made ample amends for any uncommon delay in its commencement. In the course of

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thirty years, she published not less than a hundred volumes. If they are deficient in some of the most essential requisites of romantic narrative, in profound knowledge of the heart, in skill to paint its stormy passions, and in fertility and power of invention, they are universally admitted to possess the rare merit of a rich and beautiful style. It is an involuntary tribute to her real desert, that her critics are not agreed in determining which of her various productions is the best. Some of them have selected the *Théâtre d'Education*, as the one by which she will continue to be known; while others are surprised, that any person should hesitate to prefer *Mademoiselle de Clermont* and *Madame de la Vallière*.

It is amusing, and not uninstructive, to observe in the personal character of Madame de Genlis, the manner in which the most contradictory qualities may be mingled in strong and almost ludicrous contrast. She intermits her usual philippics against Voltaire, to praise him for his exemplary modesty in speaking of himself. This is precisely the compliment which the conscience of the philosopher, however accommodating, would have found it most difficult to bestow on her in return; for it must be admitted, that what plain-spoken men would call vanity, stands but too conspicuously in the van of her many accomplishments. She entertained a deep, and doubtless a sincere aversion for the impious and profane; yet she dwelt with complacency on the delicate ingenuity of a few miserable verses, in which she was herself compared to the Creator of the Universe, beholding the work of his hands, and pronouncing it good. She inveighed against superstition with edifying seriousness; while she attributed all the misfortunes of her life to the neglect of a celestial vision, imparted to her during a severe illness. These inconsistencies, and others of a similar kind, may probably be found in greater or less degree, in the character and conduct of all; but they are not often acknowledged so freely, without the slightest apparent consciousness of their existence. It is but just, however, to confess, that the relinquishment of *rouge* at thirty, was an act of self-denial, which must have tasked, to the uttermost, the energies of a fashionable lady; particularly of one so sensitive as Madame de Genlis, upon the subject of personal beauty.

We are inclined to doubt, whether the critical talent of Madame de Genlis could have been of a very exalted order. Of the romances of Scott, she takes occasion to declare, that

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they are wholly destitute of imagination, real interest, and fine writing, and are on the whole, very tedious. Her sentence upon the works of Lord Byron is hardly less severe. With respect to her contemporaries in general, she appears to have acted on the principle of one of Sheridan's characters, that it would be a pity to spoil a quarrel, which was a very pretty one as it was, by any sort of explanation. We regret to see her, besides depreciating the excellence of Joseph Chenier's literary works, accuse him of having suffered his unfortunate brother to perish upon the scaffold, when, by employing his personal credit during the reign of terror, he might have rescued him from destruction. We believe, on the contrary, that so far from having it in his power to avert his brother's fate, it was with difficulty that he preserved his own life, during the multiplied perils of that dreadful period. She tells us, on the authority of Chastellux, that it was the custom of Madame Necker, by way of preparation for dinner, to make copious notes beforehand of the conversation which she proposed to carry on with her guests—a practice not unlike that of the Abbé Raynal, who is said to have carried constantly with him a huge volume of anecdotes, for the purpose of discharging an apposite one *impromptu*, at the first convenient opportunity. This lady, she remarks, was a *philosopher*, or in other words an unbeliever, without being conscious of the fact. All this is not very flattering; but her daughter Madame de Staël, does not escape so easily. Her productions are criticised with a severity not altogether sanctioned by candor and justice; and the review is concluded with the solemn decision, that they are deficient in that superiority of style, which alone could render them immortal. Not less severe is her estimate of the merits of the interesting Madame de Cottin, who is accused of having pillaged her best things from the works of her accuser. In fact, Madame de Genlis appears to have regarded most of her contemporary writers as a lawless horde, whom she was bound, to the extent of her abilities, to denounce and exterminate.

We have had occasion to advert, with some degree of freedom, to the faults as well as foibles of the author of the Memoirs before us; but it should not be forgotten, that we are indebted to her own candor, in a great degree, for the knowledge of them; and we are bound in justice to remark, that she exhibited at the same time, some high qualities of mind, and estimable traits of character. She was for many years, very

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popular as a writer, in a community not wholly without fastidiousness in the selection of its favorites; and if the form of romantic narrative, in which she excelled, has given place to others of a more exalted nature, it is some praise to have succeeded in a department of literature, in which none but the highest abilities could have attempted a reform. In her disposition, there was much of disinterestedness and magnanimity, and a readiness to make large sacrifices for the welfare of others, or to a sense of duty, which are certainly the indication of no ignoble spirit; and there was combined with these qualities, an earnestness in the cause of religion, which, if sometimes misguided by the prejudices arising from her education and position in society, was yet inspired by correct and honorable principle. The closing period of her life appears to have been as tranquil, as its meridian was disastrous. She died at the moment, when a new and most momentous chapter was about to be added to her country's eventful history; at the very opening of a great drama, in which her early and favorite pupil has been destined to play a most conspicuous part; and when, as she might have felt without affectation, her own character and principles were to be vindicated by the excellence of his.

ART. IX.—*A Manual of Political Economy, with particular reference to the Institutions, Resources and Condition of the United States.* By WILLARD PHILLIPS. 8vo. pp. 278. Boston. 1828.

We owe an apology to our readers, for not having taken an earlier notice of this work, which is one of the most valuable that have yet appeared in the United States upon the important subject of which it treats. Mr. Phillips, who was already advantageously known to the public by his work on Insurance, and several other literary essays of great merit, has condensed into this volume the results of an extensive course of reading, matured and digested by patient reflection. Without perhaps proposing any entirely new ideas, he has subjected the whole compass of the science to a new examination; presented many questions under new points of view; discriminated, in general with great correctness, between the sound and unsound portions of the current theories; and developed some important truths in

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a fuller and more satisfactory manner than any preceding writer. The reasoning is accompanied, throughout, with copious historical and statistical illustrations, evincing a very accurate knowledge in the author of the economical resources of the different parts of the world, and conveying,—particularly in reference to this country,—a great deal of useful information, which it would be difficult to come at so easily in any other quarter. We shall mention, in the course of our remarks, a few points on which we differ from Mr. Phillips; but we have no hesitation in saying, that in our opinion his work may be read and consulted as a manual, particularly by the citizens of this country, with more profit than any recent publication on the subject with which we are acquainted in the English language. The literary execution of the work is highly creditable to the author. The style is correct, perspicuous, and, as far as the nature of the subject admits, elegant. We shall first offer a few remarks upon the present state of the science, and then notice particularly some of the more interesting portions of the work before us.

The great work of Adam Smith, which created the science of Political Economy, is still the foundation and text-book of this branch of learning, and is in fact almost the only truly original and valuable treatise, which we have upon it. It is one of those standard productions, in which a master-mind, capable of grasping the whole domain of science and letters, has directed its great powers and resources with indefatigable perseverance to the illustration of a single subject. It is not less agreeable in form, than it is valuable in substance; and, instead of being—as is supposed by some who have not read it—dry and repulsive, is undoubtedly, to every reader of mature taste and liberal accomplishments, one of the most interesting as well as instructive books which he can take up. The writers on the continent of Europe, and particularly Say, have done little more than translate and arrange Smith, whose work will, of course, be studied with far more advantage in the original. The inquirer will there find the great and simple principles which constitute the basis of the science, distinctly stated in the most elegant language, proved and illustrated by curious and instructive details of facts, and followed out into the most important, and generally most correct practical conclusions. The theories of Smith received a tinge from the philosophical character and tendency of the age in which he lived, and are

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in some parts, better adapted to the practical use of a country where individual liberty is struggling for existence under a load of ancient abuses, than for one in which the battle is won, and where the principal object of the patriotic and judicious is to give efficiency to the opposite element of law. But if we even admit, that the work of Smith contains some errors of considerable importance, resulting from the cause to which we have alluded, it must still be regarded, and will probably remain for a long time, the standard treatise on the science of Political Economy.

After the appearance of the Wealth of Nations, no important innovation was attempted in the science, until the publication of the Essay on Population by Mr. Malthus. The object of this work was originally purely political, and this circumstance probably contributed very much to procure for it a temporary popularity; but it was afterwards found that the leading principle, if admitted, would effect a very important change in the whole aspect of the science of Political Economy. This principle, divested of the technical and somewhat pedantic form under which it was presented by Mr. Malthus, is, that there is a natural disproportion between the demand for, and the supply of the means of subsistence—that this disproportion is the real source of all the moral and physical evil under which we suffer—and that, although its operation may be to a certain extent counteracted, the mischief is on the whole irremediable. The economical results of this principle are sufficiently apparent. Thus, on a natural view of the subject, the wages of labor are the whole of its produce, or something of equivalent value. No man, who can produce in a given time an article of a certain value, will accept, as the wages of his labor for that time, any other article of less value than the one which he can make himself. But if we admit that the supply of the means of subsistence is regularly and necessarily insufficient to satisfy the demand, that is, the wants of the community, it follows, that the market for labor is always overstocked, and that labor will be always at a minimum price, which will be equal to the value of the least quantity of the means of subsistence, that will barely support the laborer and his family. Such is accordingly the theory of Mr. Malthus and his disciples on the subject of wages. Without following out in detail the application of the principle to the several subjects of rent, profits, taxation, and the other

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leading titles in the science, it is sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that it leads in all of them to new conclusions, entirely at variance with those which result from the principles previously adopted and maintained in the Wealth of Nations. These new conclusions have been set forth by the contemporary British writers, Malthus, Ricardo, Mc Culloch, and others, and constitute the basis and substance of the science of Political Economy, as it is now taught in the schools of England. On the continent of Europe, these conclusions have been but partially adopted, and the science remains more nearly in the form in which it was left by Adam Smith.

The character of a treatise on Political Economy, written at the present day, is therefore determined in a great measure by the view which the author takes of the principle of Malthus. If he adopt this principle, he must acquiesce in the conclusions of the contemporary British writers, and can only hope to improve the state of the science by illustrating these, or adding others deduced in a similar way from the same premises. If, on the contrary, he reject this principle, he must reject with it the whole body of Political Economy as now taught in England, and, going back about half a century, take up the science at the point where it was left by its great founder. In conducting a systematic inquiry into this subject, the first object would therefore be to examine the theory of Malthus, ascertain the precise arguments for and against it, and decide whether it is, or is not to be received as the basis of the science.

The plan of Mr. Phillips has led him to take a popular, rather than a systematic view of the field of Political Economy, and, although he rejects the theory of Malthus, and with it most of the conclusions of the contemporary British writers, he has not undertaken a formal refutation of the principle. He is rather disposed to consider it as a mere unsubstantial paradox, unworthy of any very serious examination, which has already had its day, and is not likely in future to engage much of the public attention. This view of the subject is, in our opinion, the correct one; but we think, that Mr. Phillips would have rendered his work more complete and satisfactory, by devoting a chapter, or perhaps a preliminary essay, to this particular point. The high estimation in which the theory in question is still held in England, entitles it to respectful notice; and this was the more necessary, inasmuch as the labor of refuting it has by no means been wholly superseded by the writers whom

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he cites as authorities for a different opinion.* But this deficiency—if it be one—in the work before us, will be less perceived hereafter than it is now. In general, the permanent value of a scientific treatise is greater in proportion as it is less occupied by a refutation of the erroneous opinions of contemporary writers. The chapter on Innate Ideas, in Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, which was probably at the time the most popular and interesting one in the work, is now looked upon as nearly superfluous.

* We have before us a late work, in two thick octavo volumes, on the subject, by Mr. Sadler, a distinguished member of the British House of Commons, which is noticed in the last number of the Edinburgh Review, in the contemptuous and insulting tone so often employed by that, in many respects, valuable journal. The work is written throughout in an excellent spirit, and with a very correct moral feeling, although not uniformly the best taste in point of style. The argument consists of two parts; a refutation of the theory of Malthus, and an attempt to establish a new one. In some passages of the former part, the reasoning of Mr. Sadler is powerful and conclusive. We think, however, that he fails in attempting to account for the rapid increase of population in this country almost wholly by the effect of emigration from Europe. Some other writers have perhaps attributed too little influence to this cause during the earlier periods of our history, but the continuance of the same general rate of increase through the last fifty years, when the proportion of the number of emigrants from Europe (taken at the very highest estimate) to the whole population is comparatively trifling, proves that this is, after all, not the principal agent in producing the effect. The precise theoretical objections to the system of Malthus are not distinctly stated in the work of Mr. Sadler. The new principle which he attempts to establish is, that population regularly increases in an inverse ratio to its density; that is, that it increases less rapidly in proportion as it becomes more dense; and this by the effect of a mysterious adaptation of the number of births resulting from a marriage at a given time and place, to the state of population then and there existing. Some of the objections made by the Edinburgh Review to this principle are evidently captious; but the principle is, we think, improbable in itself, and not proved by Mr. Sadler. There are some facts which apparently tend to show, that population increases less rapidly as it becomes more dense; but these are easily accounted for in other ways, and, generally speaking, the current of examples is in favor of the directly opposite principle. Compare, for instance, the movement of population among the Indian tribes on this continent and among the citizens of the United States. We regret that Mr. Sadler, who is evidently a person of very considerable talent, and who appears to have employed a good deal of time and labor in collecting the materials for his work, did not allow himself a little more leisure for reflecting upon them, and preparing them for publication. He promises another volume, and we shall perhaps avail ourselves of the occasion afforded by its appearance, to notice the whole work in greater detail.

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By rejecting the theory of Malthus with its consequences, and taking up the science where it was left by Adam Smith, Mr. Phillips has at once cleared his subject of a cloud of popular errors, and given a value to his work, which does not belong to any of the recent English productions. But while he discards the innovations posterior to the time of the author of the Wealth of Nations, he is far from following, with a blind and implicit confidence, in the track of that writer. He reasons on the contrary, with perfect independence, on every branch of the science, differs very frequently from Adam Smith, and has taken, we think, on the whole, too low rather than too high an estimate of his merits. On some of the points on which they are at variance, we cordially approve Mr. Phillips's doctrine; on others, we consider his attempts at improvement as less fortunate.

We regret, for example, that our author has not adhered more closely to the master of the science in regard to the great and simple truths which form the basis of it, and which it was his chief glory to have been the first to perceive and distinctly enunciate. These are, that labor is the only source of wealth, and as a necessary consequence, the only measure of value; and that the division of labor is the principal means of rendering it more productive. On these points, Mr. Phillips either departs from the principles of Smith, or regards them as of little importance, and has thus, we think, thrown some confusion around the general plan of his work.

As respects the first of these principles, Mr. Phillips holds, that in estimating the wealth of a nation, we are to consider not merely the accumulated produce of labor which it may possess, but the natural advantages of soil and climate that belong to it, and even its political condition, and intellectual and moral character; every thing, in short, which influences production. Such we take to be the import of the following passage.

'Political economy embraces the consideration of all the agents of production, and all the causes affecting the productiveness of national industry, and the distribution and consumption of its products.

'We are not limited in these inquiries to things that are bought, sold, and exchanged, and are subjects of property, since these are not the only things by which the national production is influenced. The people, excepting slaves, are not subjects of property, and yet they are the most important agents in produc-

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tion. A salubrious atmosphere, by promoting the health of the people, very materially contributes to the productive capacity of a country, yet the air is not made a subject of ownership. Where water cannot be procured without great labor, and is, on this account, so scarce as to be sold, the productive capacity of the community is thereby diminished; Lord Lauderdale says, that individuals are thereby made richer, and the community poorer. And this is true, if we understand the wealth of a nation to be its productive capacity, since if one in a hundred is employed in raising water for the others from a deep well, the productive industry of that community for other purposes, is but ninety-nine hundredths of what it would be, if the water were supplied without labor. But if the water were procured without labor, though made a subject of sale on account of its scarceness, the owners of the springs would be more wealthy by the amount of revenue derived from this source, as is the case with the Arab chiefs who derive revenue from the watering places in the desert of Zaarah, but the productive capacity of the whole community is not for this cause necessarily lessened. This effect follows only in case the proprietor of the well is rendered a less useful subject to the community in consequence of receiving this revenue. He may be either more or less useful on this account; whether he is one or the other, will depend on the wealth and condition of the community, and the character and pursuits of the richer inhabitants.

'This distinction may be illustrated more clearly, perhaps, by the instances of a canal and navigable river, for if navigation can be done on a river, without tolls, as cheap as it could be done on a canal of the same length paying tolls, the river gives all the facility and advantage to industry, that could be derived from the canal; yet the canal is of great value to the proprietors as a navigable channel, and the river of no value at all.

'We perceive, from these instances, that the capacity and facilities for production are not tested and measured by the mere subjects of property, or things bought and sold in a community. It would be unnecessary to notice this distinction, had not the industrial means and faculties of a nation been denominated *national wealth*, and we must therefore guard ourselves against accepting the word *wealth* in its ordinary meaning when it is so applied.' pp. 12—14.

Now, although the physical, moral and political characteristics of a community, are among the most important elements to be taken into view in estimating its general condition, we apprehend, that they are not those, which we habitually look to, when we mean to ascertain its *wealth*. The wealthiest

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nation is not the one which possesses the purest air—the clearest sky—the richest soil—the most abundant supply of water—the best political constitution—or the highest intellectual or moral qualities; but the one which possesses the greatest amount of the accumulated products of labor; that is—cultivated fields and gardens—houses and workshops—ships, carriages, furniture, machinery of all descriptions, and finally, money, which is the representative for the purpose of exchange of all other articles. It may happen, that the community which possesses the greatest natural advantages also possesses the greatest amount of the accumulated products of labor, and is therefore the wealthiest; but the reverse is often, perhaps more frequently the case. Holland, for example, which has been for two or three centuries past, and still is regarded as the wealthiest nation in the world, is perhaps the one of all others which was originally the most sparingly endowed with the good gifts of nature. It is no doubt true, that a given amount of labor will produce a greater or less amount of wealth, in proportion to the natural advantages under which it is applied; but it is also certain, that the greatest natural advantages will not afford the smallest portion of wealth without the intervention of labor, by which is meant the application of our physical and intellectual powers. This being the case, it follows of course that labor is the source of all the wealth of nations, or in other words, is the only source of wealth.

As the whole labor of a community is the source of all its wealth, so the amount of labor employed in the production of any particular portion of this wealth, determines the extent to which it forms a part of the general mass, or in other words fixes, and of course *measures its value*. This is the second of the great leading principles of Smith, and this too is controverted by our author. He denies that value is determined by the cost of production, and denies that labor is the natural measure of value.

On the first of these points, the difference between him and Smith is perhaps rather verbal than real. He affirms that 'supposing the first cost and market price, or exchangeable value of things always to coincide, still it would not be the less true, that any article would be more valuable than another, not merely because more labor and capital had been invested in its production, but because a greater quantity of others could be obtained in exchange for it.' Now it is quite true in the theory

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of Smith, as well as that of Mr. Phillips, that the value of a thing depends upon the quantity of others for which it can be exchanged, and it is so defined in the Wealth of Nations. But the question here is, what determines the extent to which a given article will command others in exchange? Why is it, that a yard of superfine French broadcloth may be exchanged for ten dollars, and a yard of cheap cotton cloth for only ten cents? The answer undoubtedly is, that a proportionally greater amount of labor has been employed in the production of the broadcloth. The nominal or market price of the article does not always,—as Mr. Phillips justly remarks,—coincide with its real value, as determined by the cost of production; but this does not prove, that the cost of production is not the circumstance which fixes the real value. The nominal price is constantly disturbed by accidental causes; but has a constant tendency to return from all its aberrations to the point at which it coincides with the real value: and is therefore said with propriety,—as a general proposition,—to coincide with it; just as the magnetic needle is said to point to the North Pole, although it is almost always oscillating under the influence of some little temporary disturbance. In this as in a thousand other cases, the general principle is the mean of an infinite number of minute variations in opposite directions.

The value of objects being determined by the amount of labor employed in their production, it follows as a matter of course, that their value is *measured* by this amount, and that labor is the standard of value. If the capacity of one article to exchange for another be fixed by the quantities of labor respectively employed upon them, it is obvious, that by ascertaining the quantities of labor respectively employed upon any two objects, we may at once learn their comparative value, or the rates at which they may be exchanged. If I wish to know the money value of broadcloth, I have only to ascertain the quantities of labor respectively employed in producing a given quantity of each—a yard of cloth, for example, and a silver dollar—and their comparative value is seen at once. In practice, the real value of the precious metals which serve as the common medium of exchange, is supposed to be known; and the operation reduces itself to an inquiry into the labor bestowed upon the article which we wish to compare with them.

This is the theory of Smith, and it seems to be almost self-evident, but has yet been a good deal questioned by subsequent writers, and is rejected, as we have remarked, by Mr. Phillips.

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The rate of wages, it is said, is constantly fluctuating; and this fact proves that labor, instead of being a measure of the value of other things, is as variable in its value as any thing else.

But it is quite obvious, that fluctuations in the rate of wages have no tendency to prove that labor is not the measure of value. They only prove, that labor is less productive, in some particular article, at one time and place, than it is at another. A day's labor, we will suppose, would formerly produce only a yard of cotton cloth, and will now produce ten. The wages of a day's labor estimated in cotton cloth, are now ten yards instead of one. What does this prove? Not that labor is worth more than it was, but that cotton cloth is worth less. And so of the other variations in the rate of wages at different times and places.

But how—says Mr. Phillips—is the amount of labor employed upon a given article to be ascertained? A native of New-England will do twice as much work in a day as a Hindoo, and will apply his labor with ten times the intelligence and skill. The produce of a day's labor in New-England will therefore be a very different thing from the produce of a day's labor in India. It is not certain, then, that because two articles have both been produced in the same number of days, they are the produce of equal quantities of labor; and this being the case, how are we to know, when they are the produce of such equal quantities? To this we answer, that there would doubtless be in practice a good deal of difficulty in bringing to an exact comparison the quantities of actual labor respectively employed upon different articles; and that labor would consequently be a very inconvenient measure of value for the purpose of selling at retail, or for the transaction of the other ordinary business of life. If a person were to go into a milliner's shop, and inquire for the produce of an hour's labor in muslin or shoe-ribbon, it would take more time to ascertain the quantity he wanted, than it did to produce it. But the fact, that labor is an inconvenient measure of value for ordinary purposes, has no tendency to prove that it is not the real and original standard to which every other practical measure, and particularly money, must be brought back. The case is the same as that of the practical measures of length, weight, and capacity. In France, for example, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in selling silk and wine at retail, to adjust the quantities wanted, by comparing them with the length of a degree and its divisions; but we know that this is in fact the

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standard of the measures now in use, and the only invariable one that could have been employed for this purpose.

The beneficial influence of the division of labor in rendering it more productive,—which is the third of the leading principles of Smith,—is admitted by Mr. Phillips; but is apparently not considered by him as of much importance. He adverts to it incidentally in a single passage; and does not appear to regard it as one of the fundamental truths of the science. With those who consider it as such,—and we profess to be of the number,—the manner in which he speaks of it will be viewed as a defect in his work.

On the first great division of the subject, which respects the principles that regulate the *creation* of wealth, the theory of Mr. Phillips is on the whole somewhat less satisfactory than might be wished. On the other, which treats of the *distribution* of wealth, and includes the several titles of Wages, Rent, Profits, and Interest, his views are luminous, and in our judgment, generally correct. It is on this branch of the subject more particularly, that the modern English writers have been led by their adherence to the theory of Malthus into great errors; and the work of Mr. Phillips will be read with much advantage as a corrective of their systems. We need not follow our author in detail through the exposition of the principles set forth in this portion of the work, which are substantially the same with those of Adam Smith. We may also remark, that here and elsewhere, the object of the author is not so much to lay down theoretical truths in a formal way, as to explain their practical applications, and illustrate them by a mass of instructive and often very curious details. In this respect, his manner is the same with that of the author of the Wealth of Nations, and it is undoubtedly the one best fitted to render the work interesting and useful to the common reader. We extract the following passage as a specimen of the character of these details.

'The proportional amount of the different kinds of capital or investments varies in different countries: According to the Massachusetts valuation of 1821, the personal estate in the town of Boston, is about twice the value of the real estate, including buildings; in the town of Salem, the income from each is nearly equal. In Northampton, the income from real estate is valued at about double that from personal. Taking an average of three small inland agricultural towns, the estimated income from real

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estate, including buildings, is eight times that for personal estate, and the estimated income from lands, is to that from buildings and personal estate, about as seven to four, or 7-11 of the income is from lands and 4-11 from buildings and personal estate. But some kinds of personal estate were not included in this valuation, such as furniture, apparel, farming utensils, young cattle, and swine. And the real estate was doubtless returned more accurately and valued higher than the personal.

'Taking the whole country together, we may estimate, I think, that the capital consisting of buildings and personal estate, is equal, at least, to the value of the lands. We may then consider the value of the lands to be partially the result of labor in subduing, fencing, draining, and making roads. We will allot one third of their value to this cause; and the result will be that two thirds of the whole capital of the community is the direct result of human labor, and one third is the bounty of nature.

'The value of all capital is estimated by the income derived from it, and this income cannot be gained without labor, and it is a matter of interest to discover the share which industry has in the whole production, and how great a portion of the whole income is credited to industry, or in other words, at what value the people rate themselves in comparison with personal and real estate. Recurring then to the same valuation, it appears, that there were in Massachusetts in 1821, about 122,600 rateable polls of males over the age of sixteen years, being about one quarter of the population. A greater part of these people are industriously employed; we will suppose the whole of them to be so. And in estimating the income from labor, we will not deduct the laborer's food, since we might as well deduct his clothing and lodging. The whole production of the community is intended for the use and consumption of the people, including the income from rents and profits as well as labor, and men will eat, and must be clad, whether they are idle or at work, so that the value of his labor is not the net wages over and above the expenses of living, but the gross wages without any such deduction. Estimating wages then at seventy-five cents per day, as the medium between the highest and lowest, including all trades and professions, and probably too low, and allowing fifty-two Sundays, and thirty-three days more for holidays and sickness, and idle hands, and the result will be an income of $25,740,000. The females are no less numerous, and most of them industriously employed in house-keeping or otherwise, and we will estimate their wages at half the rate of that of the men, making $12,870,000, which added to the former sum gives $38,610,000 for the income from wages. In the valuation above mentioned the whole income from real and personal estate is put down at about $9,000,000; but we will suppose it

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to be too low, and set it at 12,000,000. The result is, that three fourths of the whole income of the community is derived from wages, and only one fourth goes to pay rents and profits.

'To pursue the inquiry a little farther, let us suppose the income of 12,000,000 is derived from property yielding rents and profits at the rate of six per cent. per annum on its value, which in this case will be $200,000,000; and we perceive that the income from rents, profits, and wages, for four years, exceeds the whole value of property, real and personal. If the community saves nothing, but consumes its whole income, it will in three years and four months consume and reproduce the whole value of its real estates and capital of all descriptions. If the people are idle one month, they consume one forty-eighth part of their whole possessions; if by industry and economy they save the income of one month, they add a forty-eighth part. Whatever measures and enterprises keep the population usefully employed, make the country prosperous and rich, even though a part of them are making silks and raising corn, as some writers suppose the English population to do, at a greater expense of labor than it would cost others to do it for them. It has been the policy of England to keep its population employed, and this is the secret of its growth in wealth and productiveness. The nation has not quietly reposed itself in the theory of those economists, who say that a certain amount of capital will, *proprio vigore*, put in motion a certain amount of industry, and no more can be done; a theory which is confuted by the experience of all communities every year, if not every month.'

The following passage from another part of the work, gives some further very interesting details of the same description.

'In most communities the agricultural interest is the most important, whether we consider the income derived from it, the kind of products it supplies, or the number of persons employed. The rental of all France, as stated by Mr. Lowe, was in 1792, 24 millions sterling, and in 1822, 36 millions, and equal to its whole commerce; that is, the annual income of the lands was equal to the whole amount of exports. If we suppose the profits of commerce to have been 7 1-2 per cent., the agricultural income is over thirteen times that of commerce. If the lands are assumed to yield five per cent. on their value, the landed capital is twenty times the amount of the annual exports. The rental of Great Britain is estimated at 217 millions sterling, or six times the amount of that of France, reckoned in money. Notwithstanding the difference in the value of money in the two countries, this difference in the rental seems to be too great to be accurate.

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'It appears by the returns for the direct tax of 1798, that the value of lands and houses in the United States at that time was about 620 millions of dollars, the number of acres valued being about 164 millions, and estimated, including all the houses, as well those in the towns as in the country, at 3 77-100 dollars, per acre. The value of the lands with their improvements and dwelling houses in the same States, as estimated under the land taxes of 1813, 1814, and 1815, was about 1560 millions, and the value per acre, including the buildings in the towns and in the country, 9 50-100 dollars, assuming the number of acres valued to have been the same as returned under the tax of 1798. In the mean time Louisiana had been acquired, and the State of Ohio formed; the value of lands, and houses, and improvements in which latter State, was under these last taxes, estimated at 61 millions. In the returns under the tax of 1798, the value of houses is put at about one third of that of lands. Deducting then one quarter from the value of both lands and houses in 1815, we make the value of the lands to be 1215 millions, without including Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. Since 1815 the lands must have greatly increased in value, but the increase in the money price has not been so great in proportion.

'As to the number of persons employed in agriculture, they are estimated in Great Britain to be about one third part of the whole population. In the time of Elizabeth, they are supposed to have been six-tenths; and under George I. four-tenths. In this country their proportion to the whole population is quite as great as it was in England in the time of Elizabeth. Some tables state it at 83 per cent., but probably too high.

'It is not surprising then, that agriculture has been considered under almost every government to be of the very first importance. The Chinese annual festival of opening the ground in the spring, in which the Emperor, and all the Viceroys and Grandees take a part, shows the high estimation in which the art of cultivation is held in that empire, and the honors there paid to this species of industry have doubtless contributed very essentially to the high state of its cultivation and its great productiveness. The annual cattle-shows and fairs of this country, have a similar object, and they are supposed to have had a great effect already in introducing improved implements and processes, and better species of animals, and plants, and in increasing the productiveness of agricultural labor.'

The chapter on Commerce will probably be read at the present moment with more interest than any other, from its connexion with the political controversies, which now agitate

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the country. In this chapter, Mr. Phillips examines at considerable length the question, whether it be the duty and policy of a country to protect and encourage by law the growth of its own domestic industry, and decides it in the affirmative. His argument on the subject is powerful, lucid, and we think, conclusive. Considering the unanimity and success with which the protecting policy has been acted upon in all ages, by all the governments of the old and new worlds, it is rather singular, that the expediency of it should have been made a subject of dispute; but such has been the influence of the authority of Adam Smith, that while the practice is wholly in favor of protection, the theories of the modern speculative writers are generally on the other side. We are therefore glad to find what we deem the correct opinion, stated in a scientific form with so much talent as it is in the work before us; and we particularly recommend this portion of it to such of our readers as are really desirous of obtaining clear and just ideas upon this important subject.

It will be apparent from the tenor of our preceding remarks, that few persons are less disposed than ourselves to depreciate the merits, or undervalue the authority of Adam Smith; but we are not prepared to follow blindly in the footsteps of any writer. It is clear to us, as well from the particular passages in which this subject is treated, as from the spirit which pervades his whole work, that the author of the Wealth of Nations was in some degree influenced by the prevailing temper of the age in which he lived. At that period, the direction of public opinion throughout Europe was towards a reform of existing abuses. The effort of the powerful men, who, from their superior talents and activity, stood forward as the organs and representatives of this opinion, was to extend the sphere of individual liberty, and remove as far as possible all the restraints, political, civil and religious, which had been imposed upon it. The impulse given to the mass of society by these efforts, had a tendency, like every other vigorous movement, to go too far; and we must expect to meet in the writings and proceedings of the leading men of this period the errors and excesses, as well as the power, originality and brilliancy, which naturally accompany a strong developement of the principle of individual liberty. We find, accordingly, that all the master-spirits to whom we have alluded, paid their tribute to the still mightier spirit of the times. Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau,

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with a crowd of other writers of inferior note, are all obnoxious in greater or less degree, and in different ways, to the objection of having, in their zeal for reform and liberty, depreciated the importance and utility of the opposite principles of order, prescription, and law. The illustrious author of the Wealth of Nations belongs, in this respect, to the same category. We know, as well from the history of his life, as from the internal evidence afforded by the style and substance of his work, that he was a perfectly sincere and single-hearted man; but it is evident to any one who reads him without prejudice, and with the light that has been thrown upon his theories by the course of subsequent events, that in his zeal to remove abuses and secure individual liberty, he was hurried into the adoption of some theories, which, if practised upon, would relax the bands of wholesome authority, and reduce society to a state of complete dissolution. With him, government, instead of being, as it is, one of the two great constituent elements of social order,—a principle as high and holy in its origin, and as beneficial in its influence, when kept within its proper sphere, as liberty,—is a positive evil, which is only to be tolerated to a certain extent as a means of counteracting individual excess. The tone of the work corresponds, in this respect, with the substance. Instead of approaching the subject of religion and government with the deep feeling of respect, which a sense of their importance naturally creates in the minds of all reflecting men, he generally handles them with the air of levity and sarcasm which distinguished the contemporary French school. When he has occasion to mention the lawgivers and political representatives of nations, he tells us of the 'crafty animal, vulgarly called a statesman.' There have no doubt been, and still are, many statesmen to whom this description might be applied with great justice; as there are among the clergy many of 'the round, fat, oily men of God,' described by Thomson; at the bar many lawyers, who realize the *leguleius quidam—auceps causarum—cantor formularum* of Cicero; and we may add, many closet philosophers, who are no better than ingenious sophists. But is this the way in which the personal representatives of the principles of order and law are to be spoken of in a serious work, which pretends to compare and estimate the influence that belongs to the different elements that enter into the composition of the great fabric of society? The clergy are treated in the same sneering and contemptuous tone. All the

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evil that we suffer, results from the action of governments, corporations, universities, classes of men; and all the good that we enjoy is the effect of the spontaneous, unbiassed, undirected action of individuals. It would be easy to show,—if we had room to treat the subject here at large,—that this proposition, taken in general, is completely false. While it is certain, that the good of all is best promoted by allowing the largest scope to individual action, which is consistent with the attainment of other really valuable objects, it is equally certain, that the influence of the social principle, when kept in like manner under proper regulation, is, to say the least, not less beneficial than that of the selfish one. It would be strange indeed if the conduct of men were always virtuous and judicious, when they are acting each separately for himself, and always vicious and unwise, when they are acting together for the common good. While we make due allowance for the natural influence of a strong current of contemporary opinion upon the mind of a writer, whose natural dispositions were evidently of the purest and most amiable cast;—while we rather regret than blame the false and unfortunate tone of thinking and feeling to which we have alluded; we ought to be particularly careful not to be carried away by it ourselves, and to distinguish, in studying the Wealth of Nations, between the great truths which render it a work of permanent value, and the accidental errors which are a mere reflection of the popular opinions of the time at which it was written.

In applying his general principle to the subject particularly before us, it is affirmed by Adam Smith that every individual, if left to himself, will give his labor the direction most beneficial to himself, and of course to the general good. Let him alone, and he will take better care of himself than any body else can take of him. Every branch of industry which it is really desirable for any particular community to possess, will naturally grow up there, and if it do not naturally grow up, the fact proves that it is not desirable that it should be established. Whatever is, is right. Now all this, when interpreted by the aid of the circumstances of the times when Adam Smith wrote, means nothing more in his mouth, than that individual industry was at that time incumbered in England, and generally in all Europe, with a multitude of useless and harassing restrictions, which it was very desirable to remove. To conclude, from this state of things, that all legislative regulation of indi-

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vidual industry is injurious, was natural enough according to the common mode of reasoning; but is, after all, nothing more than the ordinary sophism of arguing from the abuse of a thing against its utility. The principle that an individual, if left to himself, will always give his labor the direction most likely to promote his own interest, will not bear the slightest examination. It is infinitely more important to the interest of an individual, not to give his labor the direction of forging bank notes, or robbing on the highway, than it is, that he should pursue this or that particular one among the reputable professions; and yet many individuals do give their labor this direction, notwithstanding the evident impolicy of so doing, and all civilized governments think it necessary to divert them from it by all the terrors of the penal code. The arguments which are habitually urged against legislative protection of domestic industry, apply with precisely the same force against a legislative protection of our property and persons from the arm of the pickpocket and the assassin. It is the law of our nature to live in society; and, instead of having it in our power, if left to ourselves, to give our labor the direction in every respect the most favorable to our own interest, it would be impossible for an individual, under such circumstances, to labor at all or even to exist. And so far is it from being true that economical matters are, as such, a particularly unsuitable subject for legislation, that they are, in fact, in all countries, the principal and ordinary one. Property itself is a mere creation of society, and the regulation of the tenure and transfer of it, is the great business of legislative bodies and courts of law. All this, on the theory of Smith, should be left to the individual, who will arrange his own economical concerns, and take care of his property infinitely better than governments and courts of law can do it for him. In short, the principle in question, when pursued into its consequences, strikes at the root of society, and brings us back to the chimerical doctrine of an original state of nature anterior to the existence of any social union, which was the leading heresy of the political sophists of the last century. And yet it is simply on the basis of this wholly untenable theoretical proposition, that Adam Smith and his followers rest their doctrine of the impolicy of affording a legislative protection to domestic industry.

Indeed, this doctrine, as stated by those who hold it, is generally accompanied with admissions, which would in a great degree prevent its application to practice, and reduce it to a

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mere abstract theory. Even in the Wealth of Nations it is clogged with important exceptions; and in this country its intelligent advocates generally allow, that a legislative protection may be resorted to with propriety, for the purpose of securing from the danger of foreign competition the infant period of such manufacturing establishments as are suited to the state of the country, but require at the same time a large outlay of capital, and a good deal of experience, before they can be brought to perfection. Now, the persons who make this admission, concede the whole question in dispute. It is not contended by any one, that protection should be given to manufactures, which are not suited to the state of the country, and all manufactures require protection in their infancy. This is the precise ground upon which the principle of protection is sustained. And to admit its application thus far, is to allow it in practice to the full extent, to which it has ever been claimed in theory.

We would gladly copy,—did our limits permit,—the whole of Mr. Phillips's remarks upon this subject. They are of permanent value, and are particularly interesting at the present moment, when a violent effort is making, in several quarters, to unsettle the economical system to which we are indebted for our present, and on which we must depend for our future prosperity.

In revising the work for another edition, which will doubtless be called for at no distant period, we would respectfully recommend to Mr. Phillips a reconsideration of some of his principles, to which we have particularly alluded above, and a rather more methodical disposition of his materials. The imperfections which we have noticed are, however, of minor importance, and we conclude, as we began, by recommending the work to our readers as one of the most valuable of the recent treatises on the subject, with which we are acquainted. It should be purchased and perused with attention by every student of political economy, and by every gentleman of liberal accomplishments, who wishes to understand,—even if he do not take an active part in,—the conduct of the public affairs of the country.

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ART. X.—*The History of the Jews, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time.* By Rev. H. H. MILMAN. 3 vols. 18mo. New-York. 1830.

To notice this work as a sacred history, is the province of other journals; we shall therefore speak of it as we should of any other record of ancient or modern times. And we know of no subject of more curious or deeper interest, than a narrative of the fortunes of this singular race, which may be traced from the earliest time to the Christian era, like the course of some mighty river. Even then, when their national existence is broken up, they are not lost among the nations; but still are like the stream, which keeps the color of its waters far out upon the open sea. We are glad to see that Mr. Milman, while he approaches the subject with proper respect, has treated it as a philosophical history, so far as the popular character of his work admitted. The friends of religion have done injury to the Scriptures, by the sternness with which they have kept this history apart from all others. They have given the impression that it would not bear examination; nor is it singular that acute minds, finding it defended with the same sort of earnestness with which one upholds a doubtful character, should have entertained suspicions of its truth. But now, they begin to apply the advice of Gamaliel to this subject as well as to all other pretensions; and without surrendering its sacred claims, treat it as a matter open to fair discussion, knowing that it cannot lose its interest, so long as any one desires to explore the mysteries of human nature. The eye of such an observer must be arrested by these floating remnants of a once distinguished race, clinging to fragments of a vessel which went down thousands of years ago, and looking for relief, though so long delayed, with a courage that never falters. He will consider it well; for there is nothing like it in all the history of man.

The effect of this disposition on the part of theologians, to take larger views of this subject than have been common in former years, has had the happiest effect on the credit of the Hebrew Scriptures. Since discussion has been invited, various difficulties have disappeared. Voltaire could not again shake the faith of nations in the story of the Deluge, by saying that the shells found on a mountain were carelessly thrown there by pilgrims; but impartial science, without fear, favor or affection, declares, that the account of the Flood is as legibly

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written on the face of the world, as in the Sacred writings. History explains the doubtful narratives; philology clears up the obscure language; monuments of antiquity, dug out from their Egyptian graves, give the testimony of ages past to their truth; taste delights in the grandeur of their inspirations;—there never has been a time when intellectual men relied more upon the authority, or more highly estimated the value of this authentic record of the childhood and youth of the world.

Objections of this kind being removed, the early history of Israel is invaluable as a record of life and manners. In this respect it comes before the poems of Homer, which however fabulous in point of fact, are undoubtedly true to nature. Nothing can be more interesting than to trace the simple story of these nomadic tribes, and observe how the manners of a people, usually so variable, have in those regions remained the same for thousands of years, as if for the purpose of affording convincing evidence of the truth of the history to the latest generations. We find the same liberal hospitality, dashed with occasional traits of wildness; the same truth sternly observed in some respects, and sorely violated in others, which even at this day distinguish the wandering Oriental chieftain. Those who cannot bear to have it suggested that Abraham was deficient in strict veracity, or that Jacob procured the birthright, which made him the head of the clan, by an unworthy artifice, should remember that the divine Ulysses is praised by Homer, for his talent in fabricating some new romance, to be given as his own personal history to every host that entertained him. This shows plainly enough, that such artifices were then thought rather worthy of admiration for their ingenuity, than of censure for their defect of morality. We have no reason to expect to find the patriarchs much beyond their own times in these respects; certainly not, if in those times these things were not regarded as wrong. We find in them a lofty sense of honor, a warm attachment to their clan, a ready generosity to strangers, and that high devotion to their household gods, which supplies the place of local attachment in those, whose habits of life compel them to wander;—above all, a veneration for the ashes of their fathers, which implies the existence of much good feeling in every people where it is found. To expect to find them shining examples of Christian morality, besides that it is against nature, is an injury to their name. It leads many who read their history, to withhold the credit due to them for their

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virtues, and to condemn them for their violation of moral rules which they never knew. Many have thus been surprised and troubled by these faults of the patriarchs, who would have seen that they deserved the respect which the Hebrews paid them, had they been taught to judge of their characters by the standard of their own times. In this as in many other respects, has the Sacred history been injured by the misguided zeal of its friends.

The most striking peculiarity about this history is the air of truth that surrounds it. There is nothing of that mythology, which brings confusion into all other histories, and which can be distinguished from the truth by internal evidence alone. The ungracious process of separating the false from the true, when it is done by a stern hand like that of Niebuhr, affects us with a feeling similar to that with which the Scotch covenanters regarded the winnowing machine, believing that it was a contrivance by which men took the work of Providence into their own hands. We have no confidence in that which depends on the judgment of a historian, however wise or learned he may be. Fortunately there is no such perplexity attending the Hebrew history; it can be as distinctly traced, as the river of their country from its source in Libanus, till it loses itself in the waters of the Dead Sea. The characters are precisely such, as suit our imaginations of the times. Abraham, the adventurer, is the brave, calm, and dignified old chieftain; Isaac, the cultivator, is easy and unambitious, but asserts with hereditary spirit, the purity and honor of his clan; Jacob is gentle and intriguing, and we must remember, that in such a state of manners, cunning is regarded as a virtue; Esau, the hunter, is rough and manly, easy to be imposed upon, and though naturally incensed at first with the brother who has defrauded him of the chieftainship of his tribe, ready to meet him with an affectionate welcome in after years. Here is a case, in which it is necessary to remember, that among uncultivated nations a successful stratagem, like theft among the Spartans, brings honor, not disgrace. Esau was to blame for his rashness in parting with a high distinction, which according to their ideas, he should have died sooner than surrendered; but Jacob, though he exulted in his success, never felt as if he had done right towards his brother. Compare his jealous and timid conduct with that of Esau at their next meeting, and you see all the consciousness of transgression. His own household read

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and treasured the lesson he had given;—and he cannot condemn them when their jealousies and quarrels fill the residue of his life with woe. All is truth and nature, from Hagar turning away from her child in the desert that she might not see him die, to Joseph, bursting into tears when he can no longer disguise himself from his brethren. No inspiration, divine or human, ever drew a more perfect picture of life and manners than this.

At a later period of this history the treatment of the Canaanitish nations appears, in the opinion of many, as a defacing stain; and it is true, that there are few grosser acts of inhumanity on record. But why does this surprise or disappoint us? Why do we expect to find them towering above the manners of the times, especially when we know that such deeds were not then regarded as dishonorable or guilty? The hero of ancient war, Achilles, would be a monster of hardness and cruelty in our times; but we do not wrong him by such a comparison, and we are bound to give the same measure of justice to the Jews. And as for their excesses bringing dishonor on their faith, we may as well charge the outrages committed by the crusaders, upon the Christian religion. Unless it appears that there is something in the religion that sanctions such excesses, they must be charged upon those passions, which under every form of religion, prevail in the hearts of men, and display themselves with greater or less fury, according to the amount of moral sentiment which governs the nations in those ages when such deeds were done.

Perhaps, however, this impression could not have existed so long, without a complete misapprehension of the Hebrew law. With due submission to Christian divines, we think they have indulged themselves in too strong contrasts between the Hebrew and Christian institutions. Our Saviour, in his sermon on the mount, is contrasting his own precepts, not with those of Moses, but with those of the Scribes and Pharisees. The Hebrew Lawgiver did not command his people to hate their enemies;—and the maxim 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' was not a direction for private revenge, but for legal penalty. It is true that there is nothing in his law so broad and comprehensive as Christian benevolence, which is limited neither by valleys nor mountains, rivers nor oceans, but goes every where, where evil can be prevented or good can be done. Still there is nothing of the savage fierceness, which many have supposed

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that it enjoined, and then, by an easy error, regarded as the cause of the cruelty of the Jews in their bloody campaigns. On the contrary, many of its precepts require the most delicate humanity. It threatens him who abuses the deaf or misleads the blind; it forbids the creditor's going into the house of the debtor to take his pledge;—whoever sees his neighbor's cattle wandering, is directed to drive them home; and the comfort even of beasts and birds is provided for in this remarkable law. It is true, that there were cities of refuge provided for those who had shed blood; but this, instead of being a bounty offered to revenge, was a provision for securing the quiet operation of the law, which would otherwise have been anticipated by the avenger of blood. Doubtless there were offences which Moses did not forbid; it was because the moral sentiment of the people would not have sustained him; still when he could not secure the whole, he was contented with a partial good, and he would not endanger all his commands, by insisting too strongly on an impracticable one. The truth is, then, that the institutions of Moses were not calculated to encourage, but rather to restrain the strong passions of the Jews. There were cases in which he enjoined severity as a duty upon the soldiers, but this is explained, if we remember that he was a statesman rather than a teacher of religion. A statesman in the present day, however sincere in his profession of Christianity, must, in case of war, govern himself by the usages of war, however much he may detest them. The duty of Moses was to take such measures as seemed necessary to the security of the people, whose interests were confided to his hands. He had no right to indulge his own feeling, whatever it may have been; and it is easy to be seen, that in such a state of the world, mildness and forbearance would have been little better than weakness and folly. As to the original question of invasion, no one can doubt, that the Hebrews *believed* that they had a perfect right to dispossess the inhabitants of the land; and where should they have gone to learn that their pretension was unfounded? It is not probable that one of the barbarians who were driven out, would have complained of the injustice of the war, however he might have lamented its results; and certainly it is not for us, in this distant time, to try these deeds by a standard of morality which was then unknown. We could cast the stone at former ages with a better grace, if the hands of our own age were unstained with blood unrighteously shed,

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and if we had never joined in the acclamations that follow the march of destroyers. It strikes us as quite too hard, in an age that has cheered with all its heart the invader of the world, to pretend to be severe upon the invader of a solitary province thousands of years ago. Our own nation will do well to hold its peace, whenever the extermination of the heathen is the subject of discussion; for we have reason to think that the Hebrew, who is upbraided with this blot upon his history, can find a parallel in our own annals, and that in no distant years, in an age too, when ignorance can no longer be pleaded in defence of the unjust.

The moral character of David is another of these circumstances, which have perplexed many readers of the history of Israel; but we apprehend that it is owing to their not reflecting on the position in which he stood. He led a life of constant warfare; he was hunted like a wild beast in the desert, and was more than once struggling for life in the power of an adversary, whose mind, naturally generous, was made almost insane by jealousy and despair. The condition of the country was any thing but peaceful; in the days of the Judges, the highways were deserted on account of the unsettled state of the nation; the wild natives were not driven out; David himself dispossessed them of their last foot-hold in Jerusalem. Under these circumstances, we expect to find the restorer of the fortunes of his country, a brave and successful soldier, artful in resorting to stratagem where force was unavailing, distrustful of the characters and designs of others, and perhaps deficient in that regard for domestic peace and duty, which is not apt to be found in men who spend their lives in partisan warfare. The virtues to be expected from him, are such as are valued in such times. And in these he does not appear to have been wanting; witness the lofty generosity with which he cast away the water, which some of his chiefs had procured at the hazard of their lives; denying himself this indulgence in his burning thirst, that he might not encourage such desperate adventure; witness, too, the manliness, with which, when Saul was in his power, he disdained, like the son of Morni, to stab a sleeping foe, and thus called a gush of tenderness from the rock of the veteran's heart. Sufficient evidence of this trait of character may be found in the elegy, unrivalled for its plaintive beauty,

> 'Antelope of Israel! slain on thy heights,
> How the brave are fallen!'

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Those who condemn this monarch for not displaying an example of moral excellence beyond his age, should ask themselves what reason they have for expecting to find him a Christian. Morality is something sure and unalterable, and the crime of David admits of no defence; but moral excellence is a comparative thing, and cannot be determined without an estimate of means and advantages for improvement; neither can the moral demands of the age be left out of view. Perhaps some future historian, in describing the domestic history of his Most Christian Majesty, or of the Defender of the Faith, may point out their infidelity in the domestic relations, as a reproach upon the Christian religion; the answer applicable in all such cases would be, that their faith was not the cause of their excesses, and that flattering names, assumed or given, were no index of moral or religious character.

It was in the reign of David that the Hebrew nation rose to its greatest height of power and glory; and this is the period of all their history, which the Hebrews dwell upon with most delight. The object of Moses had been, to make them, not a military, but a religious people; or, more properly, to make their religion the groundwork of their civil institutions. With this view, he made agriculture their principal occupation; and to prevent any landholder from acquiring injurious influence, he provided that every estate sold should revert to its original possessor or his representatives every fiftieth year. His plan might have succeeded, had the Hebrews taken peaceable or even sudden possession of Canaan; but when they first came near its borders, it appeared that their quiet residence in Egypt had unfitted them for the hardships of war. He was obliged to take them back into the desert, and there to prepare them, by long discipline of suffering, for the severe campaigns that were to succeed. The new generation that came up, acted their part bravely in the war, but meantime became incapable of resting under the simple republican government prescribed; republican it certainly was, so far as republicanism consists in respect to the power and wishes of the people.

Through the whole term in which they were governed by Judges, all improvement, and even happiness, was prevented by their turbulent dispositions. At times they turned their arms against each other; but foreign foes took courage from their disunion, and armies came down upon them in succession, whose inroads they found it hard to repel. At one time a

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Mesopotamian extended his conquests to the Jordan; then a coalition under Eglon was formed against them; this was followed by an effort of the Canaanites to recover their country; and hardly were they driven back, before the wild hordes of the desert came in like a flood. For a long time they suffered under the yoke of the Philistines, the most formidable of their enemies, who, though not Canaanites, sympathised with the former possessors of the land. All this confusion, arising from foreign and domestic war, made it impossible for them to improve in the arts of peace, or even to maintain their equal institutions. Samuel appeared in the character of a reformer; but the result was that it became necessary to appoint a king. It is not the least surprising thing in the history of Moses, that he had foreseen this unfortunate result, and provided for it in his law. When Saul, like the kings of the Iliad, assumed the pontifical in addition to the royal power, it was thought proper to select one less ungovernable in his passions, and thus the shepherd David came to the throne.

What personal exertions were made by David for the improvement of his people, does not now appear; but it is not more certain that Alfred exalted the private happiness and public character of his nation, than that the same benefit was conferred on Israel by the most illustrious of its kings. Miserable as his own dwelling was, the heart of his country was glad; the sun was shining out after all the changes of the storm; the regal authority was established, not indeed beyond the reach of resistance, but where it was not shaken by every blast. The Divine presence was to be secured by raising a temple lasting as human hands could make it; and all the indications of Heaven seemed to promise ages of rest and glory. It is true, he was aided by circumstances. The Hebrews were just passing from the troubles of war to more than the ordinary luxuries of peace, and they were then on the turning point; their military virtues were not lost, but softened by that prosperity, which melted away the bands of their union, and the foundations of their greatness, in the reign of his successor. But this favorable state of the national affairs was owing to his firmness in government, and enterprise in war; his power was felt from Egypt to the Euphrates; he had bound the tribes and provinces into a kingdom, which might have been happy and glorious, could it always have been ruled by a mind as vigorous as that which created it.

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We must gather the state of improvement at this time from circumstances. We cannot tell precisely how high it rose, nor how far it extended; but we have evidence enough that the arts were prosperous, and that the mind was not neglected. Moses had not extended much patronage to the arts, intending probably that his people should depend upon other countries for mechanical skill, while they drew their subsistence from the soil. They did depend upon them, at least for instruction; but no institutions could repress their taste for experiment and adventure. From the song of Deborah, we learn, that, when the other tribes went to battle, Asher dwelt in his sea-shore havens, and Dan lingered among his ships. But they had not many wants which they could not themselves supply; they had the arts of weaving, dyeing, and embroidery; of building, which was regulated by law; of working in the metals and clay; and when their own resources failed, Tyre and Sidon were ready to supply them. Except some slight and doubtful references to astronomy, we know little of their progress in science; there were few demands for it in that age. Solomon afterwards wrote on the subject of natural history, and all their writings show that they were accurate observers of the grand and beautiful in nature. We know that the credit of Solomon's observations has been lately thought to be shaken in an important point, by the researches of Huber, who has shown that ants, instead of preparing their food for the winter, are torpid throughout that season; but we have strong reasons for doubting, whether the observations of that naturalist extended to the Holy Land.

The intellectual cultivation of the reigns of David and his son, appears most brilliantly in the Sacred Poetry, the remains of which still light up the hearts of Christians, and afford them eloquence in their praise of God. There are splendid specimens, scattered here and there in the history; and Moses himself was distinguished for this, as well as other intellectual powers, long before the time of which we speak; but that David should find heart to cultivate this talent in the breathing intervals of war, or the gloom of a palace, which disunion and sorrow had made almost as dreary as the grave;—that he should tower in a walk of imagination and praise, so little lower than that which the angels tread, and draw sounds from his harp which should echo thousands of years downward upon the stormy waves of time;—we regard as almost a miracle of power. If not the inventor of this noble art, he reduced it to a system;

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he divided the four thousand Levites into choirs, who were to sing these magnificent inspirations, in which

> 'Devotion borrowed Music's tone,
> And Music took Devotion's wing.'

No better proof of the superiority of this age of Israel is needed, than these poems of David. One such orb is enough to make the whole heaven light. He excels in every variety of expression, from the warlike shout of the silver trumpet to the low wailing of the harp's most delicate string; and even now, his are the anthems with which the walls of our churches resound; they are heard in the retreat of penitence and prayer; they are the accents in which the last breath of the dying expires; when civilization breaks the silence of the desert, they are the first sound it hears; they have risen upon the air, where God alone could hear them, in the lonely African wastes and the midnight of the Northern seas; and in many a coming generation, though the human mind may put forth new powers, such as no prophet's tongue can tell, we believe they will still be the language in which the heart shall pour itself out to Heaven.

It is very interesting to observe how exactly the great founder of the nation had anticipated all these things. He had apprehended, that the Israelites, weary of internal disorders, and misled by the example of the nations round them, would require a king. This was ominous to his institutions, because their aim was to secure the welfare of all, and not the ambition of one. Still, if the king could be induced to act with a tolerable regard to the spirit of the law,—to encourage the arts of peace,—to hold out no direct encouragement to commerce, which might bring in luxury, but to leave the wants of the people to open communications with other countries as fast as they were required,—to refrain also from numbering the people for purposes of conscription, which might engender a taste for offensive war, it might be hoped that the system would endure till its purposes were answered. But it is plain, that Moses looked with a painful foreboding upon their future fate; he saw the hollowness of kingly glory; he knew that such distinction, like the wealth of the temple, would invite oppression from other nations, while it destroyed the energy which was needed to resist it; besides, he knew that it was impossible to set bounds to the ambition of princes, and that tyranny was the natural growth of authority residing in the hands of

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one; thus, when he had provided every safeguard in his power, his last words expressed a dark and awful foreboding of their doom. It was darkly and sadly fulfilled. Solomon, the favorite of Heaven, became the most fatal violator of his law. He opened the avenues of commerce, and wealth poured in its golden flood; he entered into a forbidden alliance with the Egyptian king; he gave an example of luxury, which his people were not slow to follow, and the decorations of his empire, which made it the envy and wonder of the world, became the weight that ground it to the dust.

Every reader of the prophets knows how the nations of Israel and Judah kept on their downward way to ruin, sometimes in jealous alliance, at others with furious enmity. The storm gathered and hung on all the surrounding mountains. The voices of the prophets, like the trumpets of Sinai, rose louder and louder, and the last beams of divine mercy were dying away. Israel perished first. Judah and Benjamin were one, and all the Jews had a common interest in their prosperity and fame; but ten different tribes, different in habit and feeling, and unused to submission of any kind, could not be held together. Their existence depended upon their union, but when they were once divided, national attachment could no more re-unite them, than the attraction of nature can bind up the fragments of the broken rock. No thoughtful mind can help admiring the wisdom of Moses, and his prophetic knowledge of what constitutes a state. The world, even in this age of light, hardly knows that the greatness of a nation does not consist in the sweep of its boundaries, nor the splendor of its victories, nor even in the grandeur of its monuments of stone. His object was to establish a system, that should protect the rights and happiness of all: he considered those monuments which could not be raised without oppression, monuments of dishonor, not of glory, and would have his people influence others, not by the terror of their arms, but the persuasion of their example.

The fate of the ten tribes after they were carried to Assyria is unknown. The sacred history informs us, that they were placed in Helah and Habor, by the river Gozan, names that are wholly unknown. If with some writers who are easily satisfied, we could assume that Gozan meant the Ganges, a hypothesis founded principally upon the striking resemblance of the two words, we should be at no loss; for the dispersion

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of Israel has been going on, ever since the nation began to decline; and before the Christian era, they were found in every known region of the world. It would be easy to pronounce any of the race children of the captivity, and the great question would be at once decided; but till this is put beyond a doubt, the imagination must be at liberty to trace them any where in the heart of Asia, or to find their descendants in the Indians of our country,—a theory which seems to have been recommended by its extreme improbability to various ardent writers. It is true, that the public attention was fixed upon this subject by a great authority, Sir William Jones. He remarks upon a Persian fragment, which traces the descent of the Afghans from Berkia, the son of Saul, that it may lead to interesting disclosures. The Afghans are said by the Persian historians, to be descended from the Jews, and their language resembles the Hebrew. Mr. Elphinstone remarks, that they have the history of the Jews to the captivity, though altered by some wild fables. Sir John Malcolm acknowledges that they differ from the nations round them, but doubts the tradition of their descent. Some of the Missionaries, however, confirm what is said of the resemblance of their language to the Hebrew, and are persuaded of their descent from the Hebrew race.

It has been said of late years, that since the Russian embassies into Asia, Jews have been found in Bucharia, who are supposed to be the descendants of the ten tribes. They are also found in Bombay and Cannamore, but so resembling the natives, as not to be distinguished from them but by inquiry and attentive observation. In dialect and manners they betray their affinity to the Hebrew race.

Supposing all these facts to be precisely as here stated, we have still no evidence that these are descendants of the lost tribes; but rather the contrary, for it appears that many call themselves *Jehudi* or Jews. Now, though we are not careful to distinguish between Israel and Judah, it is evident that a strong line of separation was drawn by themselves, both from habit and hatred; and a descendant from one of the lost tribes would have called himself by any other name in preference to that of Jew. There can be no doubt that Hebrews are found in these regions as described, but the probability is, that they came there by gradual emigration, when the nation began to outgrow its bounds, after the captivity, or that the destruction of Jerusalem and the troubles that followed, drove them into

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the heart of Asia for a shelter. Had they been placed there at the time when Samaria was destroyed, the revolutions of those countries would have removed their peculiarities more decidedly; but supposing their emigration to date from a later period, they are in the state in which we might expect to find them, slowly and sullenly conforming to the habits of the world. Mr. Milman has found strong reasons for believing, in opposition to the common opinion, that a great proportion of the tribes returned and became Samaritans; if so, there is no need of accounting for them, for as many Israelites were left, as usually survive the overthrow and dispersion of any people. The Jews, however, were dispersed under different circumstances, and were bound together by a stronger national tie. Though every where cast out, they have secured a place in every nation; though every where put down, they have every where succeeded at last in their attempt to rise. More than a thousand years ago, Khozar, on the western shore of the Caspian, was a Jewish kingdom. They gained admission even into China, and contrived to secure the respect, even of that jealous people; so that it is not necessary to resort to the earlier captivity, to account for the appearance of Jews in any part of the world, beside that the credit of history is shaken by theories, in which imagination bears so distinguished a part.

The question is often asked, why, if the Jews were in possession of great advantages, were they kept studiously apart from the rest of the world? Why were not other nations permitted to borrow their moral light and Sacred inspiration? It can easily be made to appear, that while it was the object of their statesmen to keep them apart from others, they were in successive ages thrown into direct association with other nations by circumstances, over which they had no control. Even before their political existence began,—while they were still in bondage,—they were in the midst of the most enlightened of nations. Egypt was the fountain of civilization. Greece acknowledged her obligations to Egypt as her intellectual parent; and though darkness has been over all that land for ages, there is no doubt that it was once superior to the rest of the world. Moses also, while he endeavored to secure his people from the Egyptian superstitions, was deeply indebted to their learning. What bearing the residence of the Israelites there had upon the destinies of either nation, it is not now easy to tell. The years passed there were not all lost in suffering and bondage;

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even the slavish employments to which a new line of kings condemned them, aided their improvement in mechanical skill, and their masters had the opportunity of drawing from the treasury of the Jews whatever moral or religious instruction it contained. But darkness rests upon this period; even the duration of their residence in Egypt cannot be determined. No one believes the statements of Josephus, except where he describes what passed before his eyes. Much has been expected from the discoveries of Champollion, but the naked and distant facts at present ascertained, are as far from a satisfactory history as a skeleton is from a living form. If a conjecture of Whiston, lately revived, which makes Sethos or Sesostris, the same with one of the Pharaohs of the Old Testament, be true;—especially, if he be the same with Egyptus, who compelled his brother Danaus to take refuge in Greece, we shall no longer be at a loss to account for the strong, occasional resemblance to the Jewish traditions, which is found in the mythology of Greece; but nothing now ascertained in this way, is so important as the tomb discovered by Belzoni, which contained the ashes of Necho, whose victories are recorded in the Bible, and bore on its walls colored representations of the different nations which he subdued.

This, however, was when they were poor in improvement, and needed to borrow from others; in the reigns of David and Solomon they were rich, and were able to pay their debts to all the nations. They had a friendly intercourse with the cities of the Phenician confederacy, which must have spread their name through all the shores of the Mediterranean; in the opposite direction it was carried by their own fleets on the Red Sea. They also kept up an inland trade with Egypt and Arabia, bringing from the latter gold, precious stones, incense, sandal-wood and spices. The stream of trade too from Assyria to Tyre, passed through their country, and brought fertility wherever it flowed. They drew supplies from Tarshish and Ophir, of which, if they were in fact names of particular places, which is more than doubtful, we know nothing but that one lay toward the east, the other toward the west; and their voyages in both these directions were more extensive than can be conceived by one, who knows that the ships of the Evangelists were fishing boats, and their sea a small lake. It seems impossible to believe the statement of Herodotus, that the Tyrians sailed round the continent of Africa; but it is

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certain that they ventured beyond the outlets, both of the eastern and western seas.

Meantime the great Assyrian empire was throwing a broad shadow from the rising sun, over Palestine to the borders of the Nile. With this power they held close communion, whether of peace or war. When Nebuchadnezzar had built up his kingdom of Babylon out of its mighty fragments, and made himself for a time the greatest monarch of the world, the character of the Hebrews passed in review before him and his people, and both had cause to admire their attachment to their religion. During their heart-breaking captivity, the Jews evidently secured the respect of their masters by their self-denial in temptation, their constancy in suffering, and by the 'not unmanly tears' with which they mourned for their country. Their high poetical talent also was admired, for when they were required to take down their harps from the willows, the request was made, not in mockery, but respect; their minstrelsy fascinated a luxurious people, who had nothing that would compare with the inspirations of the Jews.

No sooner had the decline of Babylon commenced, than a new empire rose, created by the genius of Cyrus, who trained the Persians to hardship, till they became powerful arms in the hands of his ambition. And again we find the Jews, by the changes of affairs, thrown into the midst of the Persians, in such a way as to secure the highest respect for them and their Sacred writings. Though in bondage, they were a people that could not be despised. Cyrus, when he issued an order restoring them to their country, and recognizing the existence of their God, must have been acquainted with their history and literature, and his subjects must have taken some pains to know why such favor was extended to such a people. So that although they returned in heaviness, lamenting that their glory was departed, there probably never was a moment when they stood so high, or exerted so wide an influence, as when they again took possession of their desolated land.

When the Persian empire sunk under the arms of Alexander, we find the Jews, whose country was so often the battle-field of rival powers, again standing upright at the conqueror's side. He treated them with sufficient respect; but his generals did not exempt them from the fate of the nations which they crushed with oppression. Still, they did not neglect any of the advantages which their position gave them, and as soon as the

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Greek became the common language of the Macedonian empire, their Scriptures were translated into it, and so generally spread, that those versions have supplanted the original. The Alexandrian Jews applied themselves to Grecian literature and philosophy, thus securing the influence which learning, or the reputation of it, never fails to give. It cannot be doubted that the Greeks returned this interest, and took the opportunity of learning all that the Jews could teach them.

Every one knows, that when the Romans were lords of the ascendant, the Jews became their allies first, and afterwards their vassals,—a humiliation which the proud Hebrew race severely felt, though they shared it in common with all the rest of the world. Their kings and tetrarchs drew their breath of life from Rome; and though the masters of the world were not remarkable for enlightened curiosity, the habits of their fierce and intractable subjects in Judea must have engaged the attention of some inquiring minds. We have ample proof of this in Tacitus, the most exact of their historians, who speaks of the expectation of a deliverer, as drawn from the sacred books of the Hebrew priests. This shows that those books were known, and whoever is familiar with Virgil's Pollio will be satisfied that they were read. When there were Romans in Jerusalem and Jews in Rome, it is easier to explain how they may have fallen in the poet's way, than to believe that passages of that remarkable poem came from any other than Hebrew inspiration.

We trust that we have furnished an answer to those who wonder why any privileges which the Jews possessed, should not have been placed within the reach of other nations of the world. Their separation was not personal, but moral: while they kept their peculiar habits and institutions, they were thrown in a surprising manner, into intimate relations with every great empire, as fast as a new one was built on the changing sands of human affairs;—from the time when Abraham first went down to Egypt, to the hour when one of the last great efforts of the Roman arms overthrew their temple and city.

The popular impressions with respect to the character and fate of the Jews are not so distinct as so important a history requires. We know of no divine inflictions; the punishments of individuals and nations are the natural consequences of their conduct; the misdeeds of communities, as well as the sins of individuals, put an end, sometimes forever, to that quiet which it is the best prosperity of men and nations to enjoy. The

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founder of the Hebrew nation, acting under the authority of Heaven, had framed a constitution for this favored people, which prescribed pursuits adapted to their soil and character, guarded them against the excesses of passion, bound up the hands of national ambition, and gave each individual as much freedom as was consistent with the general welfare. It protected the possessions of the rich and the earnings of the poor, encouraged habits of industry, and set bars to violence and corruption. Had the Hebrews been content to sit down quietly under the shadow of these institutions, they would not have had wealth to invite oppression, and would not have lost strength to repel any invasion of adventurers. But they could not understand the wisdom of their law, and disregarded it so completely, that the very book was lost; and when it was accidentally recovered in the reign of Josiah, all hearts were filled with dismay to find how widely they had wandered. Still they were not instructed by experience;—even Hezekiah, one of their best kings, could not resist the strange ambition of displaying his wealth to robbers. The natural consequences followed. As their welfare depended on the observance of their civil system, their misfortunes followed hard upon its violation. Their occasional reformation restored their character and happiness for a time; but the whole tendency of the state was downward; and the inspired prophets foretold with amazing and awful exactness, all the particulars of its righteous doom. We cannot help thinking, that the national character is too unfavorably represented on this account. The same argument is made use of, by which the friends of Job attempted to convince him that he was more guilty than others, because he suffered more. Their character was not an amiable one; but it will be observed, that the severity of the prophets, as well as of our Saviour, falls not so much on the people, as on those who misled them. A deep and burning spirit of patriotism was their strongest passion; and it cannot be denied, that they exhibited a resolution when their country was in question, which under better guidance might have made them a virtuous people. But under the direction of the Pharisees, it led to fatal results, even to the barbarous murder of Jesus Christ. But it should be remembered, that when John appeared, calling them to repentance and reform, he became their favorite, and their demagogues dared not say a word against him. The same popularity attended Jesus Christ, though his appearance disappointed

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all their hopes, which for centuries had looked for his coming in the high and commanding majesty of the conqueror and king. It required the most unwearied malice on the part of their leaders, to weaken his influence, and to work them up to that mad excitement, in which they demanded his blood. All this, we think, is implied in the memorable words, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'

We mention this, because there is a prevailing error on this subject, and the sympathies of men are unfairly divided between the Jews and Romans. Josephus, who wrote under the eye of the conquerors, has been too long suffered to mislead men by those representations of the atrocity of the Jews and the humanity of the Romans, by which he endeavored to cover the shame of deserting a cause, for which his countrymen thought it a privilege to die. Let it be remembered, that whatever might have been the national guilt which brought them into bondage, their rebellion was an effort to be free;—a rebellion, occasioned not by the extortions of Hebrew viceroys, nor the severity of Roman procurators, hard as those evils were for their proud spirits to endure; but, after years of suffering, they rose in a universal flame, the moment an insult was offered to their religion. If any respect is due to patriotic self-devotion, we cannot withhold it from theirs. And it is an evidence of the unbounded power which a popular historian has over the moral judgment, that even in this country, we should so long have sympathised with Hume against the English patriots, and with Josephus against the Jews. For nothing can be more absurd than to look on the Romans with complacency, because they were employed on this occasion, like the barbarian who afterwards overran their empire, as a scourge in the hands of God. It is quite too much to be called on to admire the humanity of Titus, whose heart was not all stone, though it seems that he tortured his wretched prisoners till no more ground remained for a cross to stand upon. The march of their armies was well described as the 'curse of desolation;' wherever was found the 'carcass' of a fated city, there one might be sure that their 'eagles were gathered;' when they spread their pinions, it was like the waving of the death-angel's wing; and yet from our youth, we are taught to bless the name of the ravenous and grasping plunderer, and it is bad taste to give even the alms of compassion to the memory of his victim.

We do not deny that the annals of the Jews abounded in

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crimes; but we have no idea of bringing the Romans into this contrast, for the purpose of exalting that great pest of the world. Those who measure character by fortune, must remember that the Eternal City was at no distant period, compelled to drain the cup she had poured out so liberally for the nations. *Her* temples were overthrown; the tombs on which her great names were written, were defaced by barbarian hands; and, while in every nation there are living memorials of the Hebrew race, there is not one who can trace his heraldry from Rome. It is the duty of all, who would give a right direction to moral feeling, to resist this unhealthy admiration of lawless violence, whether of ancient or modern times. There is no need of recommending these splendid sins; power will always command respect, and the red right hand of the conqueror will cast aside moral as well as physical resistance. Still it is not well to keep incense constantly burning on this altar of human blood; for, though these great tyrants of man are not common, all the relations of life are affected by a sentiment, which encourages false ambition, and turns real glory into shame.

We said in the outset, that we should treat this merely as a civil history, though we regard it in another and more important light; for in this view alone, the character and fortunes of the Jews are interesting and instructive to other nations; to none more so than our own. Mr. Jefferson had no great respect for this history. Did it never occur to him, that the Hebrew statesman, thousands of years before himself, had regarded agriculture as the proper employment of a free people, and all other pursuits as subsidiary to this? It is true that the Hebrew was a religious state, and we presume that Mr. Jefferson himself founded republican institutions, not on external power, but a sense of duty existing in the hearts of the people. Moses provided also for education in all such knowledge as was within the reach of such an age, by directing parents to make it a point of duty to instruct their children in the national history and the maxims of their law. To us it seems, that in all this there was something not easily explained in ordinary ways. A constitution which allows to each subject a large share of personal freedom, and an influence that may be felt in the state;—which establishes the authority of government upon the good sense and conviction of the people;—which leaves it in their power to submit or obey at pleasure, influenced only by a clear perception of the results of obedience or corruption, which

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were distinctly seen by the prophet's eye, and set before them with the eloquence of the prophet's tongue;—this certainly is not a very simple thing. So far from being one of the first suggestions of civil science, it is the very last result at which the wisdom and experience of ages arrive. Even now, it is a problem hardly solved, though the revolutions of nations have been almost as many as the revolutions of the earth round the sun. Doubtless the details of his system were imperfectly developed; but the miracle is, that he should have been able to lay down so exact a plan for his national prosperity, as to predict to the letter all the evils that would follow from its violation. Those who allow to Moses no higher inspiration than that of talent, must confess that there was something marvellously bold and original in his system, and a sagacity in his foreboding of consequences, not easily matched in the history of political wisdom. We should suppose that with them it must be even more striking, than to such as fall in with the prevailing belief, which represents him as acting under the dictation of God. But we will not argue the point here; for another interesting question presents itself, respecting the modern history of the Jews.

Their history since the destruction of Jerusalem, is truly wonderful, and affords a most striking testimony to our religion. Never was vessel dashed upon the rock into smaller fragments, than the Hebrew nation in that tremendous overthrow; a million of its best lives were sacrificed; all its noblest blood was shed; the temple was ruined from topmost tower to lowest foundation-stone, and a cold and heavy desolation thrown over all the borders of the land. And this was the people, who deemed themselves the favorite sons of God! for whom he had suffered the bright light of prophecy to send its unnatural dawn far into the depth of coming ages; whom he had suffered, though unworthy, to lean so confidently upon his everlasting arm! One would have thought that so profound a calamity would have turned every Hebrew heart to stone. But every thing about this strange people disappoints predictions founded on human nature. Fortresses still existed in Judea, and, though shaken by the thunder of Jerusalem when it fell, held out without a sign of dismay. Masada was the last that fell into the hands of the Romans. They had surrounded it, and at last succeeded in battering down its walls; but when the night brought a pause to the combat, the Jewish leader assembled

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his comrades and told them that God had forsaken his people; still he was more merciful than the Romans, and he proposed that they should fire the city, and offer themselves, their wives and children, as a last burnt offering upon a glorious altar. They approved his counsel; embraced their wives and children with tears, and then stabbed them to the heart. Having chosen ten of their number by lot as executioners, they embraced the corpses of their loved ones, and submitted their necks to the blow. The ten then cast lots; and when nine had fallen by each other's hands, the last survivor set fire to the palace, and drove the sword to his own heart. When the Romans entered the city, they were affrighted at the desolation. Savage and horrible as such self-devotion is, it is impossible not to admire the strength of heart which it discovers; and, without inspiration, one might foretell, that so long as a solitary heart of this description was left to beat, it would treasure its national distinction as its sole remaining pride.

Thus, in truth, it has been in every country under the sun. They were scattered to the four winds, like the ashes of their temple; and now the keel of the adventurer can hardly reach a shore, where the Jews have not been before him. Gain is the only avenue to power which their feet are permitted to tread, and they walk in it with an industry that never sleeps. Unsocial as they are, go where they will, they adapt themselves with wonderful flexibility to the habits of the people. To a certain extent they mingle with others in the intercourse of life; but there is a veil in their hearts, like that of the temple, never lifted; a sanctuary, into which the eye of no Gentile is permitted to look. There is no region in which they cannot make themselves a home; and yet they draw a line broad and deep between themselves and others, by keeping up their ancient usages, circumcision, abstinence from unclean meats, and all animal food which has not been killed by a Jew, by assembling in their synagogues, and there worshipping God in the language of their fathers. They are at home, and yet are exiles; familiar, and yet strangers; content with an unenviable lot in the land of their adoption, and yet constantly looking over its boundaries to their own holy land; having every thing to humble and depress them, and yet looking forward with triumphant hope to a time, when the coming of the Messiah, 'like the lightning shining from the east to the west,' shall shiver and melt their chains.

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It is impossible to tell when and how the scattered fragments of the wreck were collected and bound together; but not long after the fall of Jerusalem, we find two Hebrew communities; the one on the other side of the Euphrates, under the Prince of the Captivity, the other on this side the river, under the Patriarch of the West. The school of Jamnia, which pretended to be the Sanhedrim saved from the general ruin, obtained great authority; and, as it was principally spiritual in its pretensions, it did not excite the jealousy of the Romans. It is curious to see how a gradual, but unconscious preparation had been made for a monument of this kind, flattering to the pride of the Jews, but as useless in itself as the fabled pillars that survived the Flood. The priesthood had been gradually superseded in the course of ages. The authority of tradition overshadowed that of Scripture, and the interpreters of this new volume acquired unbounded influence. At the same time, the worship of the synagogue grew up in place of that of the temple; so that when the ruin seemed complete, a new worship and new priesthood were already created to their hands. Even this was enough to give them a feeling of strength; and before the generation that saw the fall of Jerusalem had passed away, the whole body of Jews west of the Euphrates rose, in a fire that spread at once into a conflagration, and was only extinguished with the loss of six hundred thousand men. The Emperor then issued edicts meant to destroy their race; but at this moment, apparently so uninviting, a pretended Messiah, calling himself the 'Son of the Star,' appeared; set up his standard in Jerusalem, and the Jews poured in by thousands, with a spirit unbroken by disaster, ready to make a new appeal to arms. But their king was slain; the plough passed over the fresh ruins of the city, and all Jews were forbidden to come near it again.

But even then, when Jerusalem was left a city of the dead, and for the third time since our Saviour's prophecy, 'the mountains were melted with their blood,' their courage and faith endured. Not sixty years after, we find a Patriarch at Tiberias in this very region, whose authority was acknowledged by all west of the Euphrates, while the Prince of the Captivity still held his melancholy state upon the eastern side. He, too, had suffered his share; and at the very moment when the Roman power was about to crush him, the accession of a new Emperor drew off its armies, and left his dominion like a ship-

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wrecked vessel, saved by the sinking of the tide. In this Patriarchate at Tiberias, there was no power but such as was conceded to it by public opinion ;—but its legates visited all the Jewish establishments in various lands, and received the tribute, which was regularly paid. Such was the force of this Rabbinical dominion, that for a time, the Prince of the Captivity submitted to its power. One of these Patriarchs, in the third century, was the author of the celebrated Mishna, or code of traditional law. The western prince again recovered his ascendency, and governed in Babylonia with the splendor of a king. In the schools of his dominion, comments were made on the law and the Mishna, which were embodied in the Gemara; the Mishna and Gemara together make up the well known Babylonian Talmud. This Rabbinical lore has been extremely unfortunate for the Jews; it has weighed upon them like a millstone, and prevented their entering the lists of intellectual glory. In fact, all their apparent prosperity at this time was a calamity, because it served to draw upon them the attention of the world.

The patronage or opposition of the Emperors could not do much to uphold the faint shadow of a state which the Patriarchate presented. It was nothing more than a standard floating on a dismantled tower. Both the Patriarch and the Prince of the Captivity seemed to be upheld by a feeling of national pride, without any substantial authority, and without any thing to sustain them in the changes of the world; so that even before the barbarians flowed in upon the Roman empire, the Patriarchate had gone down. The Principality, being out of the path of revolutions, escaped till the tenth century, gladdening the hearts of the Jews with the sight of its hollow glories, but all the while wearing away. We may say on the whole, that the dark ages found the Jews nearly where the fall of Jerusalem left them; they had not yet found a resting-place in the world.

While the Jews were suffering every thing under the Christian Emperors, rather than give up the least observance of their religion, the Samaritans were more disposed to bow their heads to the storm. They eluded the severe laws of Justinian, by submitting to baptism as a matter of necessity, and then quietly returning to the faith of their fathers. We have never been satisfied with the prevailing opinion, that the Samaritans are the descendants of the idolaters (introduced by

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Esarhaddon) who gradually adopted the religion of the land. We do not think that Scripture requires us to believe that the ten tribes were so completely rooted out. The Jews from their prescriptive hatred of the rival house of Israel, always represented the Samaritans as Cutheans, but their evidence must be admitted with caution in a case of the kind. It is admitted that a remnant escaped; and it would seem that it was large enough to keep up the old religion of the land. In our Saviour's time they were expecting the Messiah, and though he was reserved in declaring to the Jews that he was their expected king, he announced it without hesitation to the Samaritans; and if he charged them with 'worshipping they knew not what,' the charge would apply with equal force to the Jews, who believed in the sacredness of their temple with the same superstition. It is singular, that after the persecutions of Justinian, they were almost lost to history for ages, till at last, in the seventeenth century, a remnant, like the mutineers of the Bounty, were discovered on the side of their own holy mountain. There they had looked securely down upon the changes of the world, preserving their ancient religion, and treasuring most of all the Scriptures in the Samaritan or old Hebrew character. The Jews during their captivity had borrowed the Chaldean letters. From their correspondence with Scaliger, in reply to his inquiries, they seem to observe the law of Moses with more strictness in many points than the Jews themselves.

When the Mussulman crescent rose in the East, it turned the tide of human affairs in favor of the Jews. Mahomet was very desirous to make the Jews his converts; and as he acknowledged Moses as a prophet, insisted upon circumcision, and made the Unity of God the chief doctrine of his religion, they were disposed to favor him against the Christians. They must have seen too, that his armies were likely to prevail, led on by such chiefs as Khaled, who, when advised to repose a moment from the weariness of a day of battle, replied, 'There is rest enough in the world to come.' But Mahomet required too much of the Jews. He wished to make them disciples as well as partisans, and failing in his attempts, he became their enemy, and persecuted them to the end of his days. But they fared better with his successors, who required no such impossibilities; and it was not without satisfaction, that they saw Omar take Jerusalem from the Christians. Even when he

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built the mosque which bore his name upon the ruins of their temple, they found consolation in the thought, that the Christians were effectually humbled. Some writers have thought, that a wide conspiracy in favor of the Mahometans was formed among the Jews; but their character is proof enough that they engaged in no such alliance. The natural union of interest and feeling was all that was needed; and we must say, though it is not to the honor of human nature, that nothing binds human hearts so firmly together as hatred to a common foe.

The conquests of Mahomet set the whole world in motion for several centuries. His successors having acquired the thirst of adventure, were not content with the quiet possession of Arabia and Syria; they poured like a flood into Egypt, and swept along the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean; then they passed into Spain, where they established an empire, and as if nothing could set bounds to their enterprise, penetrated into the heart of France. The Saracens also insulted the declining majesty of Rome. But almost every step of their desolating march was over a Christian nation; the pride of the Christian world was deeply wounded, and two or three centuries after, we find the whole Christian world in motion along the northern shore, to avenge the injuries of the cross. The whole course of this revolving circle, had an important bearing upon the interests of the Jews. They are supposed to have had an agency in bringing about the first invasion of Spain by the Saracens, in which Roderick lost his life and crown; an agency, however, which was fully justified by the cruelty they endured from the Gothic kings. These troubled times brought them into notice. Their superior intelligence and education made it necessary to give them offices of profit and trust; and when Charlemagne determined on sending an embassy to Haroun al Raschid, one of this race was employed to represent the European sovereign, and to conduct the diplomatic intercourse between Bagdad and Aix-la-Chapelle.

The conquest of Spain by the Moors, and the establishment of Charlemagne's great empire, were circumstances which threw a gleam of light upon the dark current of the Jewish history; and we are thus particular in allusion to them, because in that age, the Jews fixed that character which they retain at the present day. They did not lose the oppor-

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tunity; but exerting themselves with their usual sagacious and untiring industry, they became rich;—every stream of commerce in every nation flowed with golden sands for them. In France they took a high stand, and in Spain they were hardly distinguished in wealth, honor, and trust, from their Saracen masters. But the natural result was, that when the wild spirit of chivalry began to prevail in the world, ruling in the hearts of men by maxims with which morals and humanity had very little to do;—the fortunes of the great were exhausted by martial extravagance, the earnings of the poor were drained by oppression, and as the Jews offered a vast resource to beggarly nobles and princes, their wealth at once became a crime. It was discovered that they were guilty of the murder of our Saviour nearly a thousand years before, and for this, it was but reasonable that they should be insulted and plundered in every Christian land. The Jews, with their usual still fortitude, prepared not only to meet, but to draw advantage to themselves from the storm. The soldier of the cross must have his arms; and in the excitement of the moment, the Crusaders were ready to pledge every thing for gold. But when the time for payment came, they found that their revenues had not been increased by the prodigality of war, and they were obliged to resort to other means to redeem the pledges they had given. The Jews were then exposed to all kinds of violence; their wealth was confiscated, and their persons banished. Philip Augustus and St. Louis in France, distinguished themselves by this saintly extortion. In the reign of Richard I. of England, they were exposed to one of the most infamous massacres recorded in history, and passed through repeated changes of hope and suffering under his contemptible successor. England has nothing to boast of in this dark registry. The only ray of mercy and honor that could be seen in all Europe was in Germany, where Frederic II., the most accomplished prince of his age, had penetration enough to see the baseness of the charges brought against them. When informed, according to the usual scandal of those times, that some Christian children had been found in the house of a Jew, murdered in preparation for the Passover, 'Bury them,' was his only reply. Happy would it have been for Europe, if other sovereigns had resembled him; though superstition had a hold on his dominions, it had none upon his mind: even as a crusader, the grandson of Barbarossa effected by peaceable

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means what others could not accomplish by war, and left a name as enviable among the infidels, as that of Saladin has ever been among the Christians.

The character of the Jews has remained nearly the same to the present day, only varying with the times, not by any wide and decisive change in the prosperity or improvement of the race. But it is needless to dwell upon this period, since it has been set before the public eye in the splendid panorama of Ivanhoe; where we see at a glance the sufferings to which they were exposed, and the fortitude with which they stooped to meet them,—the contempt and hatred with which they were universally regarded, and the power which they contrived to gain notwithstanding,—the low avarice to which they descended, and the traditional enthusiasm inspired by the remembrance of their religion and their holy land. In the delightful vision of Rebecca, perhaps the loveliest portrait the imagination ever drew, we see the gentle firmness formed by long exposure to danger, contrasted in Rowena with the superiority of one, who had breathed nothing but the incense of chivalrous adoration; and we fear, that one touch of this celestial pencil has done more for this injured race, than justice and humanity in the last thousand years. It is well for the world, that this supernatural power of genius resides in such a conscientious and honorable hand. While we acknowledge the moral taste of Shakspeare in respect to character, and confess that he does not attempt to give the guilty any lasting attraction, we regret that his Merchant of Venice has done so much to associate all that is savage and rapacious with the name of Jew. We cannot blame him for sharing the prejudices of his time, but we certainly are glad that there is a power to correct his errors, and to balance the impression against the Jews which his painting has made, by one in their favor, drawn with equal talent, and from its nature resistless and enchanting.

We are sorry that there is so little to be said of the literature of the Jews. The fetters of Rabbinism have been so closely folded about their minds, as to prevent free and vigorous action. They have had little of the quiet which is most favorable to intellectual exertion, and we take it, that no great literary improvement can be expected from those, who are constantly weighed down by the millstone of banishment or bondage. The most remarkable person in this department, who has ever sprung from the race, is the modern Men-

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delsohn, whose reputation in Germany is thought to have bettered the condition of the Jews. If, however, his opinions were, as we understand them, that the Jews had a revealed law, but no revealed religion beside the law of nature, the Jews must have dreaded his heresy more than they exulted in his success. Their feeling towards him was not unlike that of the Hindoos toward Rammohun Roy at the present day; but they forgave him his deism, so long as he did not embrace Christianity.

It is not surprising that a people who have suffered so much by that sickness of heart which arises from hope deferred, should have been exposed to frequent delusion. When they have been so long watching the heavens, ready to believe that every change was a sign of the Messiah's coming, any impostor might calculate upon their easy credulity. Before our Saviour, there were false Christs in great numbers, and since his time the Jews have been repeatedly misled by adventurers. The most remarkable deception of this kind has been practised in modern times. In 1666, Sabbathai Sevi, a person obscurely born, who appeared in Smyrna, took advantage of his remarkable personal beauty to carry on this daring imposture. He formed the design when young, and prepared his way by affecting uncommon self-denial. When the public mind seemed ready for the declaration, he announced himself as the Messiah. The Rabbins resisted him, and drove him from place to place, till he reached Jerusalem, where he remained, gathering proselytes, for many years. His declaration excited a strong feeling against him, but one of his most distinguished opposers suddenly falling dead, the accident was interpreted as a testimony of Heaven in his favor. Then the glad tidings spread throughout Europe and Asia, that the Messiah was come;—labor was suspended, and the Jews every where waited the call to rise. Meantime Sabbathai found it no easy matter to ride in the whirlwind he had raised. The ardor of his partisans hurried him to Constantinople to confront the Sultan. That monarch made him this fair and reasonable proposal, 'that the Messiah should be shot at with three poisoned arrows, and if he proved invulnerable he would himself own his title; if he declined this offer, he must either become a Mahometan or be put to death.' Sabbathai was not long embarrassed by uncertainty; he declared himself a Mahometan without any unnecessary delay, and was dismissed by the Sultan with

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honor instead of contempt. He then supported the double character which he had assumed with such expedition, and his followers were fast going over to Mahomet in imitation of his example, when the Rabbins succeeded in gaining the ear of the Sultan, who imprisoned him in Belgrade, where he died a natural death in his fifty-first year. Gross and obvious as this imposture was, it long survived him, and his followers are said to be found even now in various parts of the world. This shows how ready they are to grasp at any hope, when faith is almost changed into despair, not only by the growth of Christianity, but by their own tradition. This is found in the Talmud in the form of a prophecy by Elijah, that the world is to continue six thousand years;—two thousand years without law, two thousand years under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah's reign. The first expired in Abraham's life, the second when our Saviour really came. Such a tradition, unimportant as it is to others, one would suppose would be disheartening to them, when they can only evade it, by saying that the advent is delayed on account of the sins of the world; the very sins which the Messiah was to come in order to take away.

It is a little singular that Cromwell and Napoleon each took an interest in the Jews, and endeavored to remove the ban which rested upon the race. Such was the prejudice of the day, that Cromwell could do but little in their favor, though the republicans were not zealous against them. Harrington, in his Oceana, recommended the sale of Ireland to the Jews. The necessities of Charles II. and his court, did more than Cromwell's decision, and after the Restoration, the Jews crept quietly into the kingdom, where their descendants remain to the present day. The other great enemy of oppression, Napoleon, caused questions to be proposed to the Jews respecting their allegiance to France, and having received the most satisfactory answers, he assembled a Sanhedrim for the purpose of re-establishing the worship of the Synagogue in the empire. It is somewhat in the nature of a reproach to the world, that the Jews should find only these eminent philanthropists, to enforce such plain maxims of justice and humanity. It is to be hoped, that after the lapse of some centuries, Christian nations will begin to discover, that their prosperity and religion are not secured by absurd systems of exclusion, which, instead of being a safeguard, are only so many challenges to

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those without, to batter down the walls which shut them out from the rights they inherit from God and nature.

It is not easy to estimate the numbers of a race who are scattered to the four winds of heaven. The returns made to Bonaparte fixed their number at three millions. This statement, in Mr. Milman's opinion, is too low; he is inclined to raise it as high as five millions. Even this is but a small number, compared with former times. In France there are about forty or fifty thousand. They are still excluded from Spain by an ancient law. In Great Britain their number is variously stated, but not exceeding twenty-five thousand. There they are harassed by those legal disabilities, which answer no purpose but that of insult and vexation. The oath required on the faith of a Christian, excludes them from Parliament and many other offices; and what is more important to them, they cannot take out their freedom as citizens of London, and thus are perplexed and fettered in their trade. Their numbers in our country are small. They do not seem willing to put the ocean between themselves and their father-land, though they care not over how many leagues of earth they travel. We have reason to be proud at the thought, that such as do fix their residence among us, are subjected to no inconvenience in any part of our land. If there is any decided feeling towards them, it is that of respect for a race, who, as we learn from our Scriptures, were once under the guardianship of Heaven, and are still preserving with unexampled fortitude, whatever monuments of their former distinction the revolutions of the world have left them. We do not rank their religion with heathen superstitions, but regard it as a revelation from above, differing from Christianity as the cold grey dawning from the perfect day. We consider them entitled to our sympathy from their sorrows, and their religious devotion. And if any one tells us that they are suffering a merited punishment for their national sins, though we do not contradict him, we say that they are not the only people that ever sinned, and that in all cases the judgments of Heaven can be executed without our helping hand.

We are not inclined to debate with the Jews the great question, concerning their restoration to their native land. It is this expectation more than their physical characteristics, which prevents their finding a home in any land to which they go. It has supported them in all their reverses; but the lamp which gives so friendly a light in the darkness, looks intrusive and un-

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natural after the dawning of the day. Napoleon endeavored to amalgamate them with the people of France; but his ways of effecting political changes were not particularly winning; and such changes are beyond the reach of power. It is certainly worth while to ascertain whether there is any natural obstacle in the way of this assimilation, or whether it can be removed like the blue ribbon which the ancient Hebrews were told to wear upon their garments. If it be found that Heaven has ordained their perpetual separation, plans for their moral restoration may be abandoned. But till this is placed beyond question, we may be permitted to doubt, whether, when all the purposes of the Hebrew law were fulfilled by the coming of Christianity, it was not intended that they should no longer be distinguished from other nations; whether the prophecies of their destiny are not made good by nearly two thousand years of woe; and whether there is any revealed purpose yet to be answered, by holding them up as a spectacle to the world. At all events, if they are to be restored to the land of their fathers, and to cherish the wild growth of their patriotism again on the soil where it naturally springs, the prospect is as distant as any thing human can be; and meantime their moral restoration might begin—the nations should remove their chains to the last filing; men should look upon the Jew as a man, and show him what he has never yet had reason to discover, that there is an enlarged, liberal, and enlightened benevolence taught in the Gospel.

We desire to speak with respect of all religious exertions, but we must say that nothing seems so much like mockery as the attempts made to convert the Jews. This benevolent zeal assumes, that they stand on the same ground with the heathen, a compliment neither deserved, nor likely to be gratefully received by such a people, and then employs, as the instruments of their conversion, those who have deserted them to embrace Christianity, and who, of course, are least likely of all human beings, to gain their confidence, or even attention. To us this seems like employing Arnold to persuade the Revolutionary army to submit, or Julian the apostate to convert the Christians. We should remember that all to whom our religion is offered, look for its character to Christian nations, and find there a full reply to all arguments that can be presented. The religion of peace has never kept the regions that profess it from the sins and sorrows of war. The law of good-will has

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not yet made Christians kind or just to each other; and how can the Jew be expected to embrace a faith, which not only comes to him without any moral superiority in his eyes to his own, but has been the statute to which his persecutors have always appealed, as their warrant for oppressing his race? Much must be done by way of preparation, before they can be made to listen to the claims of Christianity; and they will not do so much as this, till they learn that it is not Christianity that inflicts their wrongs, and that Christians in their hatred, revenge, and persecution, are doing violence to their religion. We take encouragement, however, from observing the effect of that religion. Like all moral means, it operates slowly; but its effect begins at last to appear. Nations the most decidedly separated by manners, language, and institutions, begin to flow together;—a tide of improvement begins to rise and swell, on which the humble and oppressed are borne upward, while towers, palaces and thrones are sinking under its waters.

Before we close, we must express the pleasure with which we have read this work. We took it up with no great expectations. We had known the author as a poet of talent, though not of the first order; there seemed to be something formal and unmanageable in his powers, which made his success in any given effort rather a matter of accident than of calculation. But in this history, his stateliness is laid by in a measure, and what remains is not unsuited to the subject; his fine imagination, too, appears to advantage in an attempt, where the writer's success, like that of the explorer in Herculaneum, partly depends upon the brilliancy of the torch which he bears. We should not cite his work as a grave authority, nor was it so intended; his aim was to make a popular and entertaining history, and in this he has perfectly succeeded. He has not walked in the beaten track, but has formed opinions for himself, and expressed them with manly freedom; so that though there are points in which we differ from him, we do not think it necessary to discuss them, being persuaded that if the book is read in the spirit in which it was written, it will lead to no serious errors. We therefore recommend it to all who wish to be acquainted with the character and history of the Jews.

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Note. It was stated through inadvertence in the Article on the Debate in the Senate of the United States, in our last Number, that the greater part of the 'Federalist' was written by Mr. Madison. It is well known—as we have since been reminded by Mr. M.—that General Hamilton was the largest contributor.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

Encyclopedia Americana. A Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Politics, and Biography, brought down to the present time; including a copious collection of original articles in American Biography, on the basis of the seventh edition of the German Conversations Lexicon. Edited by Francis Lieber, assisted by E. Wigglesworth. Vol. IV. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea. 8vo.

The Chemistry of the Arts; being a Practical Display of the Arts and Manufactures which depend on Chemical Principles, on the basis of Gray's Operative Chemist, adapted to the United States; with Treatises on Calico Printing, Bleaching, and the large Additions. By Arthur L. Porter. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea. 8vo. pp. 803.

A System of Geometry and Trigonometry, with a Treatise on Surveying; comprising various methods of taking the survey of a field, with directions for protracting and finding areas; in which, also, the principles of Rectangular Surveying, by which areas may be accurately calculated without plotting, are fully explained; with a complete series of Mathematical Tables, and the necessary explanations. By Abel Flint, A. M., with improvements by George Gillet, Surveyor General of Connecticut. Sixth Edition, revised and enlarged by the addition of copious Notes and Illustrations, and a concise Treatise on Logarithms, by Frederic A. P. Barnard, A. B. Instructer in Mathematics in the Hartford Grammar School, and Author of a Treatise on Arithmetic. Hartford. Cooke & Co. 12mo. pp. 212.

ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS.

The Token; a Christmas and New Year's Present. Edited by S. G. Goodrich. Boston. Gray & Bowen. 18mo. pp. 320.

The Atlantic Souvenir for 1831. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea. 18mo. pp. 328.

The Youth's Keepsake. Boston. Carter & Hendee. 18mo. pp. 216.

The Pearl, or Affection's Gift; a Christmas and New Year's Present. Philadelphia. Thomas T. Ash. 18mo. pp. 222.

American Comic Annual. Edited by Henry J. Finn, and Illustrated by D. C. Johnston. Boston. Richardson, Lord, & Holbrook. 18mo. pp. 220.

The Memento for 1831. Philadelphia. R. H. Hobson. 24mo. pp. 144.

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The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1831; comprising a Calendar for the Year; Astronomical Information; and Statistical and other Particulars respecting the United States and Foreign Countries. Vol. II. Boston. Gray & Bowen. 12mo. pp. 312.

The Lady's Annual Remembrancer. Philadelphia. T. T. Ash. pp. 160.

The Gentleman's Almanac and Pocket Companion for 1831. Philadelphia. T. T. Ash. pp. 152.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoir of Isabella Campbell, of Rosneath, Scotland. Abridged by Rev. H. N. Brinsmade. Hartford. Packard & Butler. 18mo. pp. 161.

Life and Correspondence of John Paul Jones, including his Narrative of the Campaign of The Liman. From original Letters and Manuscripts in the possession of Miss Janette Taylor. New York. 8vo. pp. 556.

Progress of Genius, or Memoirs of the Early Life of Benjamin West. Abridged for Young Persons. Boston. L. C. Bowles. 18mo.

DRAMA.

Irma; or the Prediction. A Tragedy. In Five Acts. New York. E. B. Clayton.

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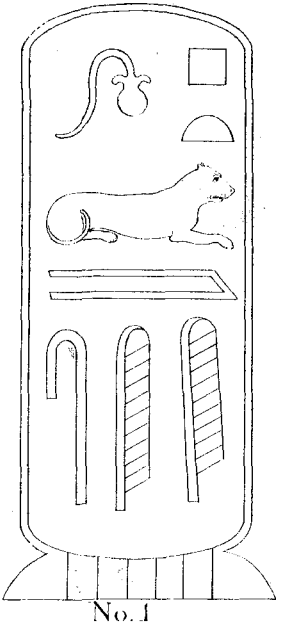

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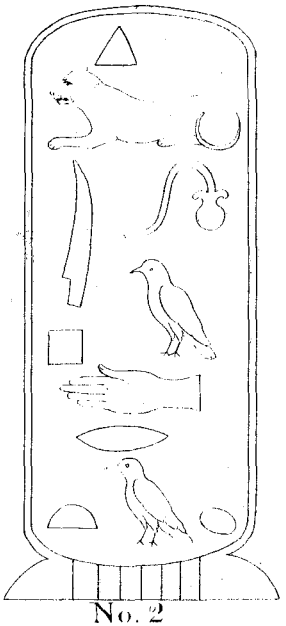

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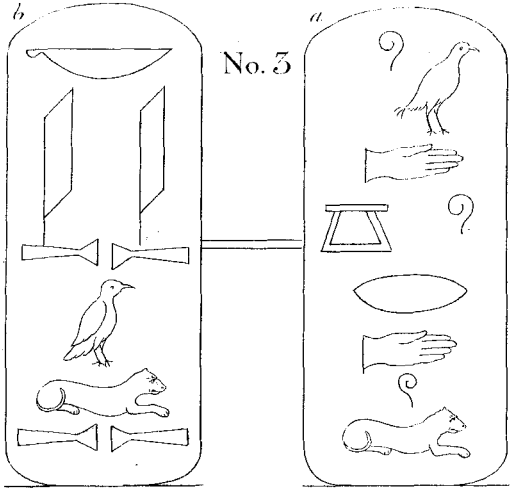

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